OCTOBER, 1933 VOL. XIX, No. 4

THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

Founded in 1915 by Rudolph E. Schirmer, under the Editorship of O. G. Sonneck

		PAGE
Grandfather Beethoven	ERNEST CLOSSON (*Brussels*)	367
Man and Music	ERNEST BLOCH (*New York*)	374
Music in the World's Proverbs	CLEMENT ANTROBUS HARRIS (*Blackwood, South Australia*)	382
Buckwheat Notes	GEORGE PULLEN JACKSON (*Nashville, Tenn.*)	393
The Celt in Music	LEIGH HENRY (*Greenwich, Conn.*)	401
The Folk-Music of Georgia	VICTOR BELAIEV (*Moscow*)	417
Haydn's Chamber Music and the Flute—Part II.	CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH (*New York*)	434
99 Pacific Avenue, or, In Search of a Birthplace	O. G. SONNECK†	456
Letter to Mrs. Julia Sonneck, May 27, 1894	O. G. SONNECK†	462
Views and Reviews		466
Quarterly Book-List		473

PUBLISHED IN JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER

Entered as second-class matter December 31, 1914, at the Post-Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Three Dollars a Year Seventy-Five Cents a Copy

G. SCHIRMER (Inc.) NEW YORK

3 East 43rd Street

COPYRIGHT, 1933, by G. SCHIRMER (INC.)
Printed in the U. S. A.



Louis van Beethoven, Grandfather of the Composer

(After the oil-painting by Radoux, 1712)

VOL. XIX, No. 4 OCTOBER, 1933

THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

GRANDFATHER BEETHOVEN

By ERNEST CLOSSON

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN knew only three of his forbears: his father, his mother, and his paternal grandfather. The affection which Ludwig habitually showed for his mother is well-known. She, Maria Magdalena Laym (or Leym), *née* Keverich, a widow, had married Johann (or Jean) van Beethoven in 1767. She died in 1787, during the composer's first visit to Vienna, worn down by disappointments and the strain of child-bearing. Of his wretched father, drunkard and ne'er-do-well, who had made the boy's childhood and adolescence miserable, Beethoven spoke infrequently and reluctantly. But he did not permit an outsider to attack his memory. At the same time, the composer made clear his preference for his grandfather, Louis van Beethoven, whose name, in its German form, he himself bore. (He, of course, used "Louis" on occasion also, but in this article it will apply to the grandfather only.) The preference existed notwithstanding the fact that the composer was but three years old when his grandfather died. "The memory that he preserved of him, nevertheless, remained quite vivid. He gladly spoke about him to the friends of his youth. The sole object which he had sent to himself from Bonn to Vienna was the portrait of his grandfather, from which he derived pleasure up to his death." (Wegeler.) "I recall, as the only ornament in his rooms that struck me, a

framed picture, the portrait of his grandfather, toward which he maintained an attitude of child-like devotion." (Schlösser.) To those who would gaze at it, Beethoven spoke readily and with affection of his *bieder Grossvater*.

In all the works dealing with Beethoven, and especially in the monumental biography by Thayer, it is stated that Louis van Beethoven was born at Antwerp. The claim of this city to be called his birthplace was advanced in 1860 by the Belgian musicologist, Léon de Burbure, and long prevailed unopposed. It was restated in the *Biographie universelle* of Fétis, and from that work passed into the entire Beethoven literature. It became accepted as gospel. But, only a few years ago, A. Pols, a keeper of the archives at Antwerp, felt prompted to verify it by consulting the records, and arrived at the unexpected conclusion that the pedigree in question was based upon errors, false hypotheses, and mistakes in identity. It is true that a van Beethoven family existed in Antwerp (as there are still van Beethoven families in Antwerp, Brussels, and several other Belgian cities today), but nothing appeared in the records to justify a linking of it with Louis van Beethoven, Kapellmeister to the Elector of Bonn and grandfather of the composer.

The legend having been destroyed by Pols, it became necessary to ferret out history. The manner in which this was accomplished is worth relating.

It was already known that other Beethovens lived at Bonn at the same time as did Louis: Cornelius, a chandler who was purveyor to the court, and Cornelius's parents, Michael van Beethoven and his wife. It was suspected, but solely on the basis of guesswork, that these three were related to the Kapellmeister. It is on the subject of their relationship that R. van Aerde, a musicologist of Malines, made a decisive contribution.

I shall digress a moment to remind the reader that Malines, half-way between Brussels and Antwerp, possesses the most glorious musical past of any town in Belgium. It was here that Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands during the reign of Charles V of Spain, established her court, at which celebrated composers, such as Pierre de la Rue, had their music sung. Here were born Cipriano de Rore, pupil of Willaert and representative of the sixteenth-century Venetian school, and Philippe de Monte (van den Berghe), who was Kapellmeister to the Emperor Rudolph at Vienna at the same time as the Walloon, Orlandus de Lassus, was directing the chapel of the Duke of Bavaria at Munich. At the end of the eighteenth century, the city was the chief manu-

facturing center of musical instruments in Belgium. Today, in the cathedral at Malines, there is still a mixed choir which specializes in the singing of the old polyphonic music and is the most important of its kind in Belgium—perhaps anywhere. Finally, Malines is known abroad as the principal centre of carillon-playing. To all the claims to celebrity to which these facts entitle her, Malines now adds another, for she is revealed as having been the cradle of the Beethovens.

* *
*

Van Aerde, in searching through the copious archives at Malines, had already extracted, from documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the names of several van Beethovens, in particular the name of a certain Louis, who was born at Malines in 1712, acted as a chorister in the very cathedral I have just mentioned, and subsequently disappeared. After Pols had produced the evidence I have already alluded to, van Aerde resumed his research and was fortunate enough to establish the facts that follow.[1]

Michael van Beethoven, whom we have already mentioned, married at Malines in 1684. He followed the trade of a baker and added to it that of a dealer in laces and pictures. He had five sons, among them one named Cornelius, who was born in 1708, became a chandler, and established himself at Bonn about 1731, where he became purveyor to the court; and another named Louis, born in 1712, the future Kapellmeister, who is thus revealed as having been the brother of Cornelius. Van Aerde was able even to identify the house which the family had inhabited. According to him, this house, No. 11, rue des Pierres, at Malines, had, up to the time of the identification, remained in practically the state in which it had been when the Beethovens lived there. After its identification it began to be an object of pilgrimage. Foreigners, especially Americans, were attracted by the prospect of visiting this dwelling-place, which had sheltered the Beethovens. But recently the house was demolished. The road having been very narrow at the point where it stood, the owner of a brewery across

[1]I have borrowed what follows from both the book of my friend, van Aerde, *Ancêtres flamands de Beethoven*, and my own work *Elément flamand dans Beethoven*, written concurrently and developing the same psychological and musical problems. The two books, written on the occasion of the Beethoven centenary in 1927, appeared in 1928

the way bought the row of houses facing him, including the Beethoven house, and obtained authorization to raze them, so that there might be more room for his trucks. Thereupon he carried into execution an act of vandalism that deprived the world of music of a shrine at which it had just begun to worship.

Let us now return to young Louis van Beethoven, the son of Michael.

At the age of five, he entered the school for the singing-boys of the cathedral. In all likelihood he did not give up the calling of a church musician, for he is found, in 1731, acting as assistant choirmaster in the church of St. Pierre at Louvain and, in 1733, at Bonn, as musician at the court of the Elector Clemens August, son of the Elector of Bavaria.

Where was he between 1731 and 1733? The road from Louvain to Bonn passes through Liége. When working on my *Elément flamand dans Beethoven*, it occurred to me to have investigations made there, and they terminated in success. In the archives of the church of St. Lambert, at Liége, were found three documents proving that Louis entered the service of that church as *chanteur basse* at either the end of July or the beginning of August, 1732.

For what reasons did Louis van Beethoven leave Liége to establish himself at Bonn, where his grandson, the greatest musician of Germany and of the world was destined to be born? The future Elector had been studying at the seminary at Liége at the time when Louis was singing there, and perhaps, after the prince received his appointment, he engaged the musician, with others, to follow him to Bonn. On the other hand, it is possible that Louis simply followed his brother, Cornelius, to a city in which the latter's affairs had prospered.

Louis married Maria Josepha Poll at Bonn in 1733, and Cornelius married six months later.

In the meantime, at Malines, the business of Michael van Beethoven, the great-grandfather of the composer, was going on the rocks. Overwhelmed with debts, unable to pay his creditors, he decided to abscond with his wife. He fled, naturally enough, to his sons at Bonn, where he lived in peace for the remaining eight years of his life.

It is the lucky insolvency of Michael that furnished van Aerde with the document establishing beyond doubt the close relationship linking Michael, Cornelius, and Louis. According to the laws of Malines, the heirs of an insolvent debtor were called

upon to pay in his stead. In the archives at Malines, van Aerde found, in one and the same register, the citation issued to Cornelius, and that issued to Louis van Beethoven, "chorister to His Excellency the Prince of the court at Bonn"!

It is known that, in the German city, the Beethovens lodged with a baker, Fischer, in whose house the illustrious musician was born. Fischer left some written recollections concerning him, only extracts from which have been published. It is possible that, Michael having been a baker, Cornelius and Louis established themselves out of preference with a man who followed their father's calling.

Louis had a brilliant career at Bonn. He became director of the chapel, the concerts, the theatre, and the court balls, retaining at the same time his post in the choir. With his son he both acted and sang at the theatre. But he was struck with the unhappy idea of adding to his other activities that of establishing a wine business, as a result of which his wife, Maria Poll, took to excessive drinking, a habit which caused her death and which was transmitted to their son Johann, father of the composer.

We possess interesting information concerning Kapellmeister Louis. Fischer, invited to his house, found a well-appointed interior, rooms richly furnished, cupboards full of silver-plate and gilded porcelains, linen "that one could make pass through a ring"; "everything shone as with money." We know something of Louis' appearance through the fine portrait which has already been mentioned. This portrait was executed by Radoux, the court painter, and is still to be seen at Vienna. It shows a man with an energetic face, the upper part of which (especially in its expression, extremely vivid, as Wegeler reported) recalls amazingly the features of his grandson, the composer. Ludwig himself testified to this resemblance: he wrote to Dr. Bach concerning "my dear grandfather, whom I resemble so much." He even feared that he might die of an apoplectic stroke, as had Louis. From the standpoint of character, Fischer and others depict Louis as an energetic man, willful, but warm and jolly nevertheless; affectionate toward children, to whom he was likely to offer sweetmeats; possessing a naïve confidence in others; and entering into transactions whereby he loaned money to peasants, or made advances to them for wine still to be delivered. Johann van Beethoven complained of his father's share in such transactions which, he said, resulted in large monetary losses.

It is highly probable that, at least up to the deaths of Cornelius and Louis, Flemish customs prevailed in the Beethoven family.[2] The trade of wine-merchant, which the Kapellmeister added to his artistic activities, is a familiar one among the Beethovens of Antwerp and Malines, among them being several tavern-keepers. But the following is more interesting. In the vicinity of Antwerp, Malines, and Brussels, the double *ee* is today still pronounced *ē*. And the petitions signed by Louis, and even by Johann, in many instances offer these signatures: Biethoffen, Biethofen, Biethoven, Biethof, Piethoffen; even "il signor Biethofen" makes its appearance, figuring on an opera-libretto. The family, then, preserved the Flemish pronunciation.

Apparently Louis van Beethoven left no compositions. Let us recognize, moreover, that, in spite of his titles, in spite of the numerous functions he performed and the favors he enjoyed as a result of them, he was no greater than other honest, conscientious, and obscure musical craftsmen of whom the past has counted many; he would have been permanently forgotten, had it not been for the lustre shed upon his name by his grandson. It would seem that the creative genius of his stock had been held in store for the younger man. But it is of more importance to lay stress upon the Flemish traits which the composer inherited. To those who know men of the Flemish race, a comparison between their characters and his is striking. His irrepressible yearning for liberty (or rather, independence); his congenital aversion to discipline; his easily ruffled dignity and his irritability; his profound convictions mingled with ingenuousness; his plebeian leanings; his preference for mean surroundings; the banality of his conversation; the uncouthness of his manners—all these things seem inconsistent with the splendor of his genius. But just such disparate elements are often to be found among Flemings of intellect. Likewise his irresistible fits of violence, which recall the German proverbial expression, *sich flämisch erzürnen;* his avoidance of all romanticism; his practical realism; and the sensuality with which he engaged in bitter combat. All these characteristics, assembled, compose a whole that is fundamentally Flemish, and provide one of those instances of recurrence that are not infrequently to be found between grandfather and grandson.

One last remark. The reader has learned earlier in this article that, before going to Bonn, Louis sang at the Cathedral

[2]There must have been a small circle of Flemings and Walloons at Bonn at the time. I have found, as one of the results of my research, that Radoux, the court painter, came originally from Liége. A fellow-Belgian, then, a Walloon, painted the portrait of the Flemish Kapellmeister.

of St. Lambert at Liége. The directors of this church must have retained a good impression of him, for, a number of years later, they offered an engagement at St. Lambert to his son, Johann van Beethoven. Johann hesitated, then refused the offer. For, at the time, his wife Maria Magdalena was with child, and the child was the future Ludwig. Had his father accepted, the master would have been born at Liége, in the land of his ancestors.

(Translated by Gustave Reese.)

MAN AND MUSIC

By ERNEST BLOCH

This article was written by me sixteen years ago; it first appeared in the March 1917 issue of "The Seven Arts." Since then my ideas have not greatly changed. Today, I have as little faith as then in theories, systems, or "isms."

We hear of late a great deal about "abstraction" in art. That is a superficial and shortsighted illusion, which does not withstand the most elementary psychological analysis. In spite of all the ephemeral theories and contrary opinions, a work of art remains for me an "ideal graphology." It characterizes its author, whether or not he is willing to admit it, in the most truthful, most complete manner. It reveals—even unbeknown to him—his inmost nature, his virtues and faults, his temperament, and the degree of his intellectual and emotional faculties.

The richer his nature is, in sensitiveness and imagination, the greater, richer and mightier will be his creation, since it is the synthesis of that nature—always provided, of course, that the technique or craftsmanship is adequate.

THUS far the war does not seem to have had any great effect on music and musicians. I am not speaking from the practical standpoint, nor do I refer to the musicians who are at the front or to those who, from a safe distance in the rear, discuss with such violence the need of boycotting the music of the enemy. I am not thinking of the occasional music the war has called forth: music in sentimental colored covers, military marches, songs for "charity bazaars," the inevitable current merchandise elaborated by smug gentlemen in the seclusion of their sitting-rooms. I do not believe in this "music from afar." And I am convinced that if anything permanent remains of all this, it will be some obscure plaint, some racy soldier-song sprung from the suffering or the ecstacy of action.

At the beginning of the war, when it was the common belief that the struggle would be short, a fond hope prevailed that art and music would rise from it refreshed. But as the conflict drags on, and the end recedes, speculation about art has dropped away. All forces strain toward a single goal for which everything is sacrificed, and the social organism, at bay, has rallied all its energies for the narrow struggle of existence. During this vast and tragic upheaval in which almost the entire world is caught and which cannot fail to transform the entire aspect of things,

what has music become? Has it also passed through the tempest, has it grown to be the voice of the people in their new sufferings and hopes? Can we find in it the impress of what is actually taking place? It seems not. Before all this overwhelming trouble, music remains indifferent. This, the most direct of all arts, the art that is best qualified to express life and human passions in their entirety, seems to have remained alien to the great drama.

There is something tragic in the degree to which music has gradually divorced itself from life and become an ego-centric and an artificial thing. Already before the war, it had wandered from the source where all art must find its strength and its continual rebirth; it was no longer the expression of our soul and of our mind, of our epoch with its struggles, its agonies and its aspirations. It lacked emotive life; it lacked humanity. In all its branches—creation, interpretation, modes of instruction and critique—it had become a cold and calculated thing, lifeless and unspirited. Music was no longer the emanation of a race and a people, a spontaneous birth out of life. It was a music of musicians. . . .

This, one vaguely apprehended, was the situation before the war. And this has scarcely changed. The public loves the same type of sterile work; the exploiters continue to provide it. And "serious" composers persist in their obsession with technique and procedure. They discuss and argue. They laboriously create their arbitrary and brain-begotten works, while the emotional element—the soul of art—is lost in the passion for mechanical perfection. Everywhere, virtuosity of means; everywhere, intellectualism exalted as the standard. This is the plague of our times, and the reason of its inevitable dearth.

But this is not the first time that such perverse conditions have obtained in the history of art. Virtuosity of means, exalted as the end-and-all of art, the substitution of automatism for life are nothing new in music. There were the early excesses of the contrapuntalists in the first days of vocal polyphony. Later, "bel-canto" was reduced to a vice, and more recently still instrumental virtuosity was carried to excess, just as today we have harmonic, contrapuntal, and orchestral acrobatics. But wherever this parisitism has prevailed, it has done so to the detriment of music. And it has been encouraged when the inventive and creative force was low: when the art's true nourishment was meager. At such times, the artist, creative and interpretive, is driven to a substitute for real emotion and real life. The artifice

of form is a last resource with which he holds the languishing attention of a weary public.

* *
*

Only that art can live which is an active manifestation of the life of the people. It must be a necessary, an essential portion of that life, and not a luxury. It must have its roots deep within the soil that brings it forth. Needless to say, it cannot be the direct output of crowds; but, however indirectly, they must have contributed to its substance. A work of art is the soul of a race speaking through the voice of the prophet in whom it has become incarnate. Art is the outlet of the mystical, emotional needs of the human spirit; it is created rather by instinct than by intelligence; rather by intuition than by will. Primitive and elemental races have had marvelous arts; and there have been periods of superior civilization, sterile in this form of expression: particularly those in which the practical and intellectual elements have been dominant. Indeed, it would seem as if certain social states like certain individual conditions give forth an atmosphere that is hostile to art and exclude it. And it is a proper question whether a society, primarily utilitarian like our own, is of a sort to foster art. For art is a completely disinterested function; it is free of all practical compromise and deaf to the law of supply and demand.

Still, the nutritive elements of art are not wanting among us. Throughout its many avatars, humanity remains the same; the conflicts that spring from human passion change only in outer semblance, and scarcely in that! The struggle of the man with nature and the struggle of man with man are as tragic as ever. There is little distinction between the ancient war of primordial tribes and the modern war of the trenches. Despite the development of machinery and of the technique of living, no gulf separates the toiling of millions in the choking furnaces of Pittsburgh from the passionate and painful struggle of the first men at the dawn of history for food and shelter. The picture is one; its light alone is different. It is the eternal wrestling of man with matter.

There was a time, however, when men drew inspiration from their daily life and their daily conflicts. Everything had its deep aspect of poetry. But today the artist turns away and avoids what ought to command him. Where he should plunge into life, feel himself impregnate with it, draw forth its essence magnified

and ennobled, he prefers to devote his powers to the inventing of an artificial work.

This schism between life and art is a dangerous one indeed. It may well make of art what it has already made of religion: a dogmatic and dessicated form, remote from nature, morbid, lifeless, a fairy-tale that has lost all its meaning. Why has this break between life and art occurred?

It is a vast and complex problem; for the factors linking an art to a culture are numerous and subtle, especially in music. Moreover, the experience of history is not always commandingly helpful. An equation that was once true may today be false, since the terms have altered with the evolving facts. Still, among the impulses that have driven art into its present perverted state there are two which appear to me to be essential: the industrial development which art has undergone and the acute intellectualism of our times. These two elements have enslaved the artist; they have taken from him, little by little, and in many subtle ways, his freshness of sensation, his complete sincerity and his freedom.

Art is becoming an industry. It is in the hand of exploiters of all stamps, men who wring great profits from it, who presume to "direct" it and to regulate its "market," which, like all markets, is subject to the law of supply and demand. Unhappy is the fate of the independent and original artist, if he is not rich and lacks a second nature, that of the merchant! Either he is crushed, annihilated by the vast and terrible machine of art; or, if he prefers not to starve to death, he is forced to conform to the laws and the conditions of these art-traffickers! Let him rush to a place under their yoke, if he wants to eat!

This is one of the shames of our social system: of all art, it favors most the meretricious and the degraded. It encourages the production of those sweetened, cloying works, of all those lies that today poison the public; it supports those "arrangements"—derangements rather—that mutilate our masterpieces for the sake of profit. It produces that surfeit of facile mediocrity whose false contagion ruins the taste of the masses. And, on the other hand, it pushes aside the true artist whose sincerity is useless, since it lacks a market-value.

This commercialism is universal in the world of art. What does one usually learn from the concert-programs? Does one find there a love of art, or a fad for artists? Is there any end to the concessions that are made from commercial motives? Always and again, the law of supply and demand. Conductors and virtuosi repeat *ad nauseam* the drummed-out, antiquated works

that flatter their patrons. Our concerts have been dead museums; and what they have to offer has no real relation with the life about us. Moreover, the dissatisfaction is widepread; great is the hunger for release. But it is vague and undirected. Inertia has its way.

This shameful state of affairs has of course infected the press. In Europe, doubtless in America as well, place and attention are not always accorded to the true work of art, to the true man of art. Public opinion has become vitiated; and those whose mission it is to enlighten the masses are most active in perverting them.

This, however, is only one side of the question. It explains but one aspect, the "nether regions" of art. There is a whole category of artists whose material ease and conscience as well enable them to hold far aloof from all this promiscuous evil. But are they, for all this, freer than the others? Are they free to live, to see, to feel, to think first and then to proclaim what they have received, without constraint and without concession? I think not. Another tyranny, equally dangerous, holds them down. They are not the slaves of merchant-editors and directors, of an easy and degraded public taste; but they are the slaves of the conventions of our time, of fashion, of the attenuated pleasures of a special set. Above all, they are subject to the intellectualism which by its constraint withers and renders false the true conception of art. Most of our artists today do not live an ample, integrated life. Their life is rarified, cerebral, artificial: largely a seeking of technique.

In certain epochs of history, broad truths, social, political or religious, have set up wide currents of thought and feeling that have swept man along in a unity of action and of faith. In such times, art has been one with life and its expression has stood for humanity. Egypt, Greece, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance knew such an art. It seems to me that the latest example of one of these collective states of soul in music was Richard Wagner; for in him we find incarnate the future dream and development of his race. But since Wagner's time no great conception, no great conviction has fertilized mankind. On the other hand, the critical instinct has developed, the positive sciences have reigned; industrialism and the vulgarization of art, heightened communication and interchange of ideas have foisted on our consciousness a febrile mixture of thought and feeling. We find the most hostile theories living side by side. The old convictions are shattered, and new ideas are not strong enough to become convictions. Everywhere there is chaos. And art indeed has been the mirror of our un-

certainties. It is significant to find, in a single epoch, the flourishing of works and styles so varied and so opposed: Reger to Strauss, Mahler to Schoenberg; Saint-Saëns to d'Indy or Debussy; Puccini to Dukas. Our arts tend more and more toward an individualistic, non-representative and non-racial expression. Nor is the factitious renaissance of national arts which manifested itself before the war to be taken seriously. The ardor of these prophets was an affair of the will, of the intellect. Their influence on the real domain of art is negligible.

There can be no doubt, for instance, that a great artist like Claude Debussy stands for the best and purest traditions of the French. But he is representative chiefly æsthetically and in form. The essence of his inspiration has little in common with the present state of France. He stands far less for France than a Rabelais, a Montaigne, a Voltaire, a Balzac, a Flaubert. He represents in reality only a small part of his country.[1]

Debussy represents the goal of the pre-Raphaelite doctrines propounded by the symbolist poets and painters of France. Above all, he represents Claude Debussy. And it is precisely in this fact that his immense value lies—his personality, his special individuality.

Unfortunately, this is not what musicians have sought in him. Quite on the contrary, they appreciate and emulate the exterior part of his work which is of importance only because of what it expresses; so that the fate of Debussy has been the usual one. First, he was ignored. Now, he is understood and admired only through his superficial and trivial qualities. An army of imitators, of second-hand manufacturers, pounced on the technique of Claude Debussy. And through their ironical activities that which was the peculiar accent of a peculiar personality becomes a debased tongue: musicians who have nothing in common with Debussy now think that they must use his words. And criticism which seems perennially unable to distinguish the true work from the pastiche exalts with the same adjectives the authentic expression and the sickening imitation.

Of course, the language of Debussy has become vulgarized and denatured; false usage has emptied it of its native color. It has become a mechanical procedure, without power and without soul. And the consequence, as with Wagner, has been a constant musical depreciation. For the ears of these moderns Debussy is

[1]Perhaps it is unjust to seek this manifestation of France in her music. Her poets and novelists, painters and sculptors are certainly more typical. Each race has its arts of predilection.

already "vieux jeu." Debussy has had to be outbidden. From one tonal exaggeration to another, we have been hurried along until our ears have become actually perverse and incapable of savoring the clean and fresh beauty of old masterpieces. Our appetite increases for still hotter spices, for still wilder complexities.[2]

First, the Wagnerians created "Wagnerism"—a narrow doctrine that declared itself the absolute truth; then the admirers of Debussy forged their "Debussyism," a doctrine equally narrow and equally intolerant of the past. And now comes a new æsthetic—that of the *bored ones!* It is based exclusively upon technical considerations. With the charge of rhetoric it denies most of the superb eras of musical history—as if its own rhetoric were better!—and it succeeds utterly in confounding the means of art with its end. Its cry is for novelty, and still more novelty. If our fathers were the slaves of custom, the new school is the slave of novelty. This frenzied search for originality has led to cubism, futurism, all those tendencies which above everything are creations of reason and not of feeling.

Here is a new criterion; and all our musicians, artists, critics are touched by it in some degree. When I say that they are not free, I mean that an intellectual barrier exists between their emotion and their work—a sort of sensory perversion that twists their thoughts, inhibits their inspiration, and warps their taste. They are forever thinking of the development of their art—not as the corollary of a logical growth of thought, not as a spontaneous expression of life, but as a thing-in-itself, apart from life. And the truth is that they neither understand nor are interested in anything so much as the elaboration of their technique.

* *
*

In conclusion, I should say that at the present time the world of art is divided into two great currents. The lower one is that of the masses: their facile taste is sinking with the love of platitude and the weight of mechanical inventions—phonograph, radio, cinematograph.[3] The other current is that of the "high-brow." With perverted taste, it looks on art as a luxury, as a purveyor of rare sensations, as a matter of intellectual acrobatics.

Both on its higher and lower levels art has broken with life. And this, doubtless, explains why the fearful events now transfiguring mankind have had so little effect upon it.

[2]The same external evolution has taken place in the domains of counterpoint and orchestration.

[3]Witness the slow but sure degradation of the opera.

The two worlds gravitate upon different orbits. But what must be the result? Are we at a period of transition; or are we virtually on the decline? Like all things, art is born, lives, dies. Is its story told? Are we definitively approaching a world of materialism, of egotism, of sensual satisfaction? Is the soul to atrophy in the dry-dust atmosphere of industrialism which now swirls about us and whose chaotic noises overwhelm and submerge us, day by day? Or is a rebirth coming? Perhaps. I, for one, do not believe that Humanity has finished its march. Humanity has merely turned a corner. We are not ready to deny the best within ourselves. But, to be sure, it will not be formulas, procedures, new theories that will create the art of tomorrow! Form is all important, since by means of it the artist materializes his vision; and for new thoughts there must indeed spring up new manners and modes of expression. In this sense, all experiment is better than mere stagnation and the effort of the *tasters* of art will not have been in vain. However false their direction, they at least work upon the soil in which must stir the harvest of tomorrow. They set their stakes. But the harvest cannot rise until a new seed has been planted.

Will the war bring forth that seed? I am rather of the opinion that this will be a distant consequence. I believe that some day we shall be weary of this daily miserable struggle, that a little true love will be reborn in the withered hearts of men. Perhaps, after our hatred, kindled only by a few, there will come one of those cleansing revolutions that will shake the world on its foundations and sweep away the poisonous vapors. Perhaps, then, a new life will rise up and with it something of youth and verdure and joy; while the old limping religions, the gods in whom no one believes, will be swept away with the ruins. A new dawn will shine, and in their hearts men will feel once more the eternal flame that they believed extinct. A little fraternity, a little love, a little gladness will gleam on the face of the world and catch up the hearts of all men in one impulse, in one rhythm. And for these new hearts there will need to be new songs!

I am certain, then, that art, like a thirsty and withered plant which finds once more its native soil, will replunge its yearning roots into the old, good earth; it will hold fast; it will drain the pith of life, and, quite naturally, without effort, having found its home, its truth, it will blossom afresh.

(Translated by Waldo Frank.)

MUSIC IN THE WORLD'S PROVERBS

By CLEMENT ANTROBUS HARRIS

HE was a wise man who said that if he were permitted to make all the ballads of a nation, he need not care who should make its laws. But neither Fletcher of Saltown, nor Sir Christopher Musgrave to whom he admittedly owed the saying, was by any means original; for Cicero had said virtually the same thing nearly two thousand years earlier, and the adage may have been a "proverb of the ancients" (to quote David's retort to Saul) at the time he used it:

When drums speak out laws hold their tongues.[1]

And Roman and Scotsman would have been little less wise had they spoken of proverbs in place of ballads. For proverbs are the current coins of speech, age-long and world-wide, arising spontaneously whenever human evolution reaches the stage of stringing words together into sentences. Many still in use are thousands of years old, and new ones are constantly being minted. Every nation has them, a usual number being 5,000 or 6,000; Spain is reputed richest with 25,000 to 30,000. And they include every conceivable subject of *common* human interest, the chief being Woman, Love, Money, God, Devil, Weather, Animals, Virtue, and Fools.[2]

While the association of occult sayings with music is at least as old as the sweet "Psalmist of Israel":

> I will incline mine ear to a parable: I will open my dark saying upon the harp. . . .

it is also remarkable testimony to the extremely intimate place which music has always occupied in the web and woof of human life that there are far *more references to it in proverbial lore than to any other art, or all other arts put together.* It is not only the number of musical proverbs which shows how ingrained is the art in human life, but their diffusion among the sayings of all races and ages.

[1]Perhaps Sir Christopher would not have claimed originality, for there are both Scottish and French equivalents for the Latin poet's proverb.

[2]Robert Chrysty's Collection contains some 21,000 proverbs, maxims, and phrases, grouped under about 370 headings; the Index alone containing 6,160 words. Westermarck's recently issued *Wit and Wisdom of Morocco* contains some 2,000 proverbs under 20 headings.

Most of the very few allusions to other arts in anthologies find their way there because such works usually include axioms, *dicta*, and popular quotations, as well as proverbs proper. Of twenty sayings on art generally which the writer has garnered, only one comes near being a proverb. It is Quintilian's observation that "the perfection of art is to hide art," for it is true of art in so wide a sense as to comply approximately with the most essential qualification for a proverb—general applicability. In the realm of literature the old Roman metaphor[3] "He writes with an iron pen," and the aphorism *Poeta nascitur, non fit* may pass muster since they are true of many arts as well as those of the scribe and verse-maker. Goethe's apothegm, "One may live in a house without being an architect," may be accepted as broadly representative of the graphic arts, but Madame de Staël's fine definition, "Architecture is frozen music," cannot, for it means no more than it says. Ray, whose collection published in 1670 is the quarry from which many more recent works have drawn, gives one on masters of the brush: "As the painter likes." But a wearisome search has revealed no others. This same search, on the other hand, has yielded nearly a hundred and fifty popular musical sayings. Some of these are disqualified by lack of general applicability; among them, the Turkish adage "Such as the music is, such are the people of a commonwealth," and Don Quixote's encomium "Where there's music there can be no harm." But the greater part remain.

Since it would be absurd to judge the relationships of other arts to life, compared with that of music, in the light of proverbial representation, the question arises, to what is this preponderance of music due? I think the answer is to be found in the fact that, though a few proverbs are drawn from literature, most owe their origin to the "masses" rather than the "classes" of mankind. Nature has provided to the poorest a voice to sing with, lips to whistle and hum with, and feet to keep time with, but not with pen, pencil, or brush; and for every once that a rustic arranges words in metre or rhyme, or puts pen, pencil, or brush to paper, he probably sings, whistles, or hums a tune countless times. This solution is confirmed by the fact that the instruments mentioned in proverbs are mostly of the simplest and most inexpensive kind—fiddles, pipes (a very elastic term), whistles, drums, castanets, and the like. Spinets, viols, lutes, and organs are almost as rare as poems and pictures.

[3]Metal pens were known to the Romans but their use was rare; practically, therefore, the saying is metaphorical.

Next to general applicability, the essentials of a proverb are "Sense, Shortness, and Salt." Consequently one of the largest categories is that of the pithy saying, illustration, or analogy—very often sarcastic. In this class music is well represented:

He's teaching a pig to play the flute. [Greek.]
To sing lachrymæ (to be sorry). [Latin.]
To sing placebo (to be servile). [Latin.]
Like a fiddler's elbow [applied to anything moving in and out].
He's like the bagpipe, he never talks till his belly be full (1623). [The date being that of the earliest known example: the proverb itself may be centuries older. This one, apparently French in origin, acquired an international vogue as did many, if not most, others: usually the country of origin is not known.]
The least boy always carries the greatest fiddle (being weak, is unable to resist the imposition).
You can't whistle and drink at the same time.
You can't catch a hare with a tabret [or by drumming. This has several variants].
Pigs may whistle, but they have an ill mouth for it. [Scottish.]
There's baith meat and music here, as the dog said when he ate the piper's bag. [Scottish.]
To hang the fiddle at the door (merry without; morose within).
Each bird loves to hear himself sing.
The noisiest drum has nothing but wind in it.
The singing man keeps his shop in his throat.
A man cannot pipe without his upper lip.
He that liveth in hope danceth without a fiddle.
He sings at a deaf man's door.
No song, no supper.
The mendicant blew the unused conch and spoiled it. (Tamil: said of a marplot.)
The drum is a measure for stolen rice. (Tamil: the rice cost the thief nothing, so he is lavish.)
A Jebli [rustic] *when he settles in a town is like a tambourine when it is provided with a skin.* [Arabic. The Jebli becomes of some good; alternatively, he becomes noisy.]

Rhyming proverbs are sufficiently numerous to be given a separate chapter in some anthologies. Here are two—old and new:

Who can sing so merry a note,
As he that cannot change a grote?

It needs more skill than I can tell
To play the second fiddle well. [Rev. C. H. Spurgeon]

The simile is also very common:

As right as a ram's horn.
As full as a piper's bag.
As good as ever twanged.
As fit as a fiddle.

As loud as a horn. *As clear as a bell.*
As loud as Tom of Lincoln. ["Tom of Lincoln," in England, was the great bell of the cathedral.]

Some writers would confine the term "proverb" to sayings of a prudential, advisory, or admonitory order. But even this category is a very large one and would not exclude musical examples:

He who can't be a fiddler, let him remain a fifer. [German.]
He who pitches too high won't get through his song. [German.]
The piper does not play till he knows who pays him.
He who sings on Friday will weep on Sunday [Herbert's "Jacula Prudentum" otherwise known as "Outlandish Proverbs," 1640].
Sing before breakfast, cry before night [a warning somewhat similar to the foregoing was widely known about 1530 and has many forms. Its popularity in Lincolnshire suggests that if English it probably originated in that county].
No longer pipe, no longer dance. (1605.)
If you see a drum beaten quickly know that it is going to be silent. [Arabic: meaning that if a married couple quarrel a divorce will soon follow.]
How was the tent burned?—by little tambourines and a reed flute. [Arabic: the owner has wasted his means on his paramour, the temptress using the instruments named as a means of allurement.]

The "salt" so desirable in a proverb often takes the form of sarcasm, especially in prudential proverbs:

You'll make an end of your whistle [tune] *though the cart overthrow for it.*

The extreme popularity of whistling in England in the 16th century, especially among carmen, suggests a Tudor origin in both time and country. Shakespeare (Henry IV. Part ii, Act iii), Ben Jonson, Taylor the "Water-poet," Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," and most playwrights of the period refer to the phenomenon, and especially to the extraordinary skill of the carmen, the horses being said to know the note of one driver from that of another. In the text the driver is chided for thinking more of his tune than of his cart.

You're as long in tuning your pipes as another wad play a spring is a Scottish form of a saying elsewhere applied to the fiddle, a "spring" being an old name for any lively kind of tune. The Latin said: *A man who can't sing is always trying to*, and *Nihil cum fidibus graculo—A jackdaw has nothing to do with music.* The Greeks were fond of saying *A musician at a loss coughs to conceal*

his loss, which an old English writer put into rhyming form: *When a musician hath forgot his note, He makes as though a crumb stuck in his throat.* This appeared in 1639 and in many later collections. Another satire, *Great strokes make not sweet music*, must have been very serviceable if using a sledge-hammer to break an egg-shell was as common then as it is now. The Arabs say of a guest supplied with too small a spoon: *He who does not play on the big tambourine is not satisfied by the hadra* (the *hadra* being a symbolical performance by some religious fraternities). *Your trumpeter is dead* was a more subtle way of saying you might blow the instrument yourself. *You agree like harp and harrow* or *A tinker and a piper make bad music together* indicate that two people are uncongenial. A vocalist would be told: *Thou singest like a bird called swine.*

Too limited a repertoire also came in for such satire: one was accused of playing *The tune the old cow died of* or *The old tune upon the bagpipe.* But more commonly it was said: *You harp on one string.* Indeed this is probably the longest-lived and most frequently used of all musical proverbs, unless the honour as regards frequency belongs to *Pay the piper, choose the tune.* It is quoted by both Terence and Horace, and Shakespeare says: "Harp not on that string, Madam, that is past" (Richard iii, 4, iv). And no proverb better illustrates the non-literal service in which such sayings are to be understood. It is far more often used of speech than of music, and I wonder whether its very remote originator did not use it in an illustrative rather than a literal sense. If a man played on too many strings, that is, was loquacious, he did not escape the proverbial lash: *He cannot hold a horn in his mouth but must blow it.* Dating at latest from 1470, this saying had a great vogue in olden times, and might be applied in either way: thus a man able to hold his tongue would say *I can wear a horn and blow it not.* In Percy's "Songs and Carols," 1571, a rhyming form is given:

I hold hym wyse and well i-taught
Can bar a horn and blow it naught!

Another proverb at one time in everybody's mouth and now never heard was *You may go pipe in an ivy leaf.* It means you may do any silly thing you like, and is used by both Wiclif and Chaucer. Parallel sayings were *You may go blow the buck's horn*, which Chaucer uses in "The Miller's Tale," and *To go blow one's flute.*

One of the most interesting things in studying proverbs is to notice the sameness of experience and observation the world over, clothed in different language. Out of countless instances, music here and there provides the parallel:

Pearls before swine. [Jewish.] *An ass before the harp.* [Greek.]

Speech is silvern: silence golden. *He had better put his horns in his pocket than blow them.*

In Rome do as Rome does. *In a fiddler's house, all fiddle.*

He's made his bed, let him lie on it. *Let him take a spring of his own fiddle and dance to it when he has done.*

"Hamlet" with the Prince of Denmark left out. *The piper wants much that wants the nether chefts* [that is, an essential part. This is the Scottish form of a proverb with English and Italian equivalents].

Familiarity breeds contempt. *The fiddler of the same town never plays well at their feasts.* [German.] *The donkey of the Gnawi is not frightened at the castanets* [says the Arabic parallel of the foregoing, used by the relatives of a disagreeable person whom they are asked to induce to leave the company, and meaning that he would give more heed to a stranger. Castanets are used by the Gnawi in their performances].

Two of a trade never agree. *Pipers don't pay fiddlers.*

You can't make a silken purse out of a sow's ear. *You can't make a horn out of a pig's tail.*

Looking for a needle in a bundle of hay. *As well try to borrow a fiddle at a wake* (though the original Saxon word *wacu* meant a watching or vigil, "wake" came to include any festive gathering).

Good wine needs no bush. *Make good flour and you need no trumpet,* or *A good drum does not need hard striking.* [Japanese.]

It's easy hearing other people's troubles. [French?]. *A mortar is beaten on one side, but a drum on both sides.* [Tamil: the retort of a man of many troubles (the drum) to the whines of a man of few (the mortar)].

Burning the candle at both ends. *Won with the fiddle, lost with the fife* [several equivalents].

Spare the rod and spoil the child. *The bird that can sing and won't sing must be made to sing.* [German.] With this we may contrast the much more subtle Arabic proverb for encouraging the shy: *Sing, O Nightingale, sing, don't lower your voice!*

Not all is gold that glitters. *Not every reed will make a pipe.*

All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. *Good singing is often wearisome* [this rather unusual kind of proverb is from J. de la Vepries's Proverbs. Paris, about 1498].

The wicked flee when no man pursueth. [Jewish.] *Some tremble before the trumpet sounds.* [Latin.]

It has often been objected that many proverbs contradict each other. As a lover of the proverb I would not so much admit this as claim it. For life seethes with contradictions, and without them proverbs would not represent it. "Doctors differ" and it is well they should, or there would be no need for the exercise of our

own mother wit. There are at least three points on which musical authorities have shown divergence sufficiently sharp to be reflected in contemporary proverbs.

Should, for instance, the best a host has to bestow be given first place or last at his banquet or concert? The Jews evidently inclined to the former opinion: "Every man at the beginning doth set forth the good wine,"[4] but the Romans to the latter, *Qui pessime canit, primus incipiet*, which a writer of 1410 translates *He that sings worst let him begin first.* Despite Roman influence the English of the eighteenth century seem to have reverted to the Jewish idea, for in the Towneley Plays of 1725 we have *Whoso can best sing shall have the begynning.*

Equally divergent are opinions as to whether music is a cause of happiness, or only a result of it and therefore no cure for melancholy. *Many a one sings that is full of sorrow.* This is found in many old authors, the Scottish form being *Bring not a bagpipe to a man in trouble*, and the Italian, *Some sing who are not merry.* The contrary is also Italian: *He who sings drives away sorrow.*

The relative numbers of those possessing vocal and oratorical gifts have also provided a bone of contention between Latin and German thought:

God giveth speech to all, song to the few. [Roman?].
One man can speak and seven can sing. [German.]

Proverbs are said to have originated as a miniature form of fable; and in the Orient, at least, this is probably true. To speak of "sour grapes" is meaningless apart from Æsop. In other parts of the world this kind of genesis is not so common though it has its representatives. The Highlander's *Fool I was to burn my harp for thee* is one of them, being without significance to those unacquainted with Celtic romance. A harper fell in love with a Highland lassie, who was ill-treated by her relatives. Eloping across the mountains the couple were overtaken by a hurricane, and the girl would have perished of cold had not the musician saved her life by making a bonfire of his instrument. Two years later she deserted him for a former lover.

But in the vast majority of instances the origin is much more trifling. Very often it is some absurd accident which occurs in a household; spreads from the family to the parish, from the parish to the town, from town to county, from county through the country, and, if the illustration is comprehensible to all, eventually

[4]Marriage in Cana of Galilee: S. John ii.

even overseas. But if the allusion is to something purely local, the saw becomes what is termed a "Town Proverb." There are so many of these that Ray gives a whole chapter to them. Among the best known musical ones in England are *Like a Lincolnshire bagpipe*, a particularly clumsy instrument emitting a doleful and monotonous sound (Shakespeare alludes to it, I Henry IV, 2, i), and *Like a Lancashire bagpipe*, an instrument which appears to have been distinguished by its long-drawn-out notes. The Scottish derisive dismissal *Bundle up your pipes and go* was in England usually associated with some particular village, such as *Put up your pipes and go to Lockington Wake* or, more contemptuously, *Go pipe at Padley* [*or Colston*], *there's a pescod feast.*

One of the most popular of Town Proverbs in England owed its existence to nothing more than what I suppose we must nowadays call a pun-complex. In Leicestershire is a village originally called Hock's Norton, later corrupted into Hog's Norton. Sometime earlier than 1638 a man called Pig was appointed organist, and thereafter whenever told anything incredible the hearer would say "Oh Yes! I daresay!—*Pig's play the organ at Hog's Norton.*" The saying caught on and had an extraordinary vogue, as may be seen from the plays of the period in which we find it quoted.[5] Thus in Randolph's "Muses' Looking-Glass" (1638) is the following allusion:

> But the great work in which I mean to glory,
> Is the raising a cathedral church:
> It shall be at Hog's Norton, with a pair[6]
> Of stately organs; more than pity 'twere
> The pigs should lose their skill for want of practice.

But Dame Caprice was not satisfied with arranging that a nominal pig should play on a real organ: she must needs complete her synthesis by providing that nominal organs should be played upon by real pigs. This she did by inspiring a herd of swine to play havoc with beds of flea-bane or penny-royal, locally known as "Organs." Thereby renewed impetus was given to a proverb already on the highway to extraordinary popularity. No wonder the wits of the period burst into rhyme on the dual occurrence,

[5]It might be added that the author, in his "Musical Animals in Ornament" (THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY, July, 1920) describes a drawing of a pig playing an organ, appearing in a fourteenth-century English prayer-book. See pp. 419, 421.—*Ed.*

[6]It may be pardonable to explain that the term "pair of organs" was formerly used for a single instrument, just as we still speak of a "pair of bellows" or of steps.

as witness the following from Witt's "Recreations" published in 1640:

> A good-wife once a bed of Organs set,
> The pigs came in and ate up every whit;
> The good-man said: wife, you your garden may
> Hog's Norton call, here pigs on organs play.

It would not be safe to judge of the origin of a proverb, as regards either date or country, from the instrument mentioned in it. For this, as we have seen, may be a pun or it may vary in different nations, and to some extent at different times. In his youth the writer used to hear a tone-deaf person spoken of as one who *Doesn't know B from a bull's foot* which later became *from a boiler explosion*. To take a more classic example, it would not be unnatural to conclude that the Latin nations were acquainted with the use of instruments played with a bow, since *Nero fiddled while Rome was burning*. But the deduction would be misleading. If the story is true at all—more authentic reports say the emperor was engaged on relief works!—the instrument in question was most probably the *fidicula*, a small lyre or harp. In the jargon spoken by Roman soldiers who had married Gallic wives (known as "Low Latin") the word became *vidula*, and it seems a safe guess that our word "fiddle," which was in use before the viol family came in, was derived from it.[7] Or Lord Macaulay's famous New Zealander, looking over the ruins of London, might conclude that the lute had been in common use in the nineteenth century, since Tennyson has minted a modern proverb by speaking of the rift within the lute. Yet his grandfather had probably never heard one, though, as a young man, his great-grandfather may have done so, for Handel, one of the last to use the instrument orchestrally, included a lute in the score of his *Deidamia* in 1741.

Similarly a false conception of the social status and emoluments of musicians generally might easily be formed if it were forgotten that proverbs deal almost exclusively with the humbler ranks. Minstrels in the Middle Ages were held in high honour and their pay sometimes excited the envy of the clergy. The chief musician of a country was known by the title of "King." Thus "King Caupenny from Scotland," "Le Roy de Champaigne," and three other minstrel "Kings" attended the *cour plenière* held by Edward I of England in 1306 and received the equivalent of £50 each for doing so. But it was otherwise with those at the

[7]Though said to have been sometimes used with the Welsh crwyth long before the Crusades, the bow was not generally known in the West earlier than the days of Peter the Hermit, when it was brought from the Holy Land.

bottom of the professional ladder, especially itinerant fiddlers—perhaps only because there were more of them:

Fiddle for shives [slices of bread] *among old wives.*

Fiddlers' wives and gamesters' ale are free to all men. [Spoken when men were drinking what others had won at play.]

Fiddler's fare—meat, drink, and money. [This phrase was extremely wide-spread.]

Fiddler's money (small change) [also very common].

Fiddlers, dogs, and flesh-flies come to feasts uncalled. [Scottish.]

None but fools and fiddlers sing at their meat.

More fool than fiddler. [I take this last to have been applied to a member of any profession distinguished for inane actions rather than proficiency: "fiddler" was probably adopted on account of the alliteration, a very common feature in proverbs.]

There appears to have been considerable rivalry between pipers and fiddlers, some proverbs favouring the wood-wind and some the strings. *Speak gude o' pipers, your faither was a fiddler* [Scottish] implies that the fiddler was the inferior man. But *Piper's news, which the fiddlers had told before* reverses the decision, at least as far as promptitude is concerned; before the advent of newspapers itinerant musicians were to a considerable extent the news-vendors of the day.

Harpers too were among these couriers, but judging by proverbial evidence, not nearly to the same extent as players on the bowed and wind instruments. One proverb, *Have among you, blind harpers,* is evidence of the great number who were sightless. Naturally, music has been the resort of those so bereft all over the world. In China the proportion is so large that musicians collectively, including those blest with sight, are known as "The Blind." There would seem to have been plenty of harpers, however, for several to gather together at one fair: for the custom was to throw down coins among them and see who could gather up the most—a queer mixture of charity and callousness. This would probably take place at the inn. In a more general sense the proverb meant, "Take what you can get."

It is odd that the harp, most typical of all musical instruments, should be only seventh in order of mention in proverbs. This is probably due to the fact that in Anglo-Saxon days in England, and probably elsewhere, possession of a harp was allowed only to a freeman or "gentleman"; it could not be distrained upon for debt, for it was the proof of status, and by its loss the owner would become a serf; while, when the legal bar had lapsed, the cost, size, and weight of the instrument might be a serious objection to a poor man who

would have it to carry wherever he went. Whatever the reason, that the harp did so rank will be seen from the following table, compiled from the 147 proverbs the writer has gathered together for the purposes of this article, which includes 114 of them.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF 17 INSTRUMENTS MENTIONED IN PROVERBS

Singing	29
Pipe, including bagpipe	22
Fiddle	21
Drum	11
Horn	10
Whistling (lip)	6
Harp	5
Tambourine	5
Trumpet	4
Lute	4
Flute	3
Fife	2
Bell	2
Castanets	1
Conch	1
Tabret	1
Organ	1
Second fiddle	1
No instrument mentioned	10
Lack of general applicability	8
Total	147


15415
Keil

BUCKWHEAT NOTES

By GEORGE PULLEN JACKSON

IN the matter of its popular acceptance and actual use, the graphic symbolism of music has remained far behind that of speech. That is to say, inability to read music is far greater than language illiteracy. Among the many reasons for this acknowledged condition, one is without doubt the comparative complexity of notated music—with its variety of note-values, rests, clefs, staffs, keys, rhythmic intricacies, etc., etc., as it confronts the would-be learner. It is the purpose of the author to tell in this article of a little-known but far-reaching and successful rural American attempt at simplifying the problems of reading music, especially for the beginner in singing.

The English-speaking people who, in the seventeenth century, streamed into the eastern coastal parts of what were to become the United States were, as it seems, wholly unable to read music notation. "Music" with them meant merely singing, that is congregational church-singing, by rote. And even that lean phase of music had sunk, after a few generations of settlement and pioneering, to an unbelievably low level. The tunes available to those sitting in the "meeting houses" had shriveled to a paltry few, and those few were miserably sung. Indeed, congregational singing must have been—if we may believe reports of the times—like some devil-take-the-hindmost responsive reading of the present day.

In New England, where conditions in the early days were not much better, people bestirred themselves in the first part of the eighteenth century. John Tufts and Thomas Walter produced two little song-books which stressed the importance of singing "by note," increased the visible supply of tunes, made a brave attempt at showing what part-singing was, and led singing into its first temptation to escape the control of the church, if not of religion, and to pursue an independent career in singing-schools.

In this singing-school movement—about the only strong domestic one in music for over one hundred subsequent years—appeared the first real need of musical notation. For notes, Tufts used the letters F, S, L, and M, placed on and between the conventional five staff-lines. These were the initials of the four syllables, fa, sol, la, and mi, which will be recognized perhaps as

the notes of that system of solmization which the colonists had brought with them from England, and had not yet totally forgotten. Their ascending scale was sung fa, sol, la, fa, sol, la, mi, fa, and not do, re, mi, etc., the diatonic sequence which, though now familiar to us, was a much later importation. Walter's book had the regular notes with diamond-shaped heads which were then customary in church-tune books. But he used the fa-sol-la-mi series of note names in his explanations of the rudiments of music, just as did all subsequent singing-school teachers and all American books of such songs for over a hundred years afterward.

In the singing-school the rustic musical neophyte had to join with others of the same voice-range in singing their part over and over "by note" before being allowed to use the words. And in this practice the difficulty in learning that a note in a certain staff position was fa in one tune and la in another of a different key was very real. It was a hindrance to reading which the earnest teacher would fain have removed. But the way to surmount this obstacle did not appear until about the year 1800, when two teachers, William Little and William Smith (of whose lives almost nothing is known), produced a song collection called "The Easy Instructor, or, a New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony." Its second edition (the only one of which I have seen a copy) was printed at Albany, N. Y., in 1802. In this book each of the four notes was provided with a different shape-head. Fa was ◺, sol ◭, la ▱, and the rarely used mi was ◇. The ascending scale therefore appeared as follows:



This was a boon to the singing-school scholar. For it dispensed with all the formerly necessary guessing as to the name of a note, once that name was associated in his memory with a particular shape; and this association of shape with name helped the singer to identify the melodic or harmonic character of the notes.

There has been some doubt expressed as to whether Little and Smith were the real inventors of these note shapes. That doubt has been caused by the fact that Andrew Law, an active singing-school teacher in Connecticut, got out a book a little later which he called a "Music Primer," in which the same shapes

were used but without staff-lines to support them, the notes being merely raised or lowered, much as they would have appeared with lines. Law claimed the system as his own. His claim may have been technically correct. He may have intended to appropriate merely the *sequence* (ascending) of the note shapes (which was  , etc., as opposed to Little and Smith's  , etc.), and the discarding of the staff may have been his idea. But the five lines, as Law soon discovered, could not be done away with. The sequence of note shapes offered by Little and Smith was preferred to that of the Connecticut teacher and came into general use by country singing-schools.

When we say "country" singing-schools we mean very nearly all of them. For, as fast as cities developed, just so fast did music and musical practices in those centers tend to conform to the more advanced ones of Europe. And to just that extent did the domestic singing-schools find it more agreeable to take their homespun religious music and its notational "helps to read" into the culturally virgin stretches of the West and the South.

* *
*

An indication of the popularity of the new notation may be found in the number of books in which it was used. I have found thirty-six different books of this type which were published during the fifty-seven years following 1798. And there are doubtless many more. Nineteen of the thirty-six known books apparently were used chiefly in the South, the other seventeen in the North.

Timothy B. Mason's experience in Cincinnati, in 1834, may serve to illustrate the popularity of "patent" notes there and the forces which worked for and against them. It seems that Mason came to these musical backwoods with the self-imposed mission of converting them to urban ways. He prepared an excellent song-book, "The Ohio Sacred Harp," and intended to drop it as a round-note bomb into the shape-note camp. But "such was the ignorance of any other kind of notes [than the shaped ones] west of the Alleghenies, that when the Messrs. Mason [Timothy and Lowell, his brother] published their . . . book . . . they were obliged, against their convictions of right, to suffer the publisher to make use of such notes to accommodate the wants of that region."[1]

[1]N. D. Gould, "The History of Sacred Music in America," Boston, 1853, p. 55.

After selling fifty thousand shape-note copies of the Ohio Sacred Harp, Mason carried out his fell purpose of a round-note edition. Urban competition was stronger, better organized and "higher class." So the Yankee singing-school master took his national scheme to the smaller places where round notes and organs did not corrupt the singers of harmonic parts and where concertizing "families" did not break in and monopolize the tunes.

Rural singing-schools and their inevitable shape-notation had a happier fate in the South. For there the unfavorable factors, urbanity, itinerant providers of concert music, church organs, and the like, were completely absent. The inland and highland South was filled by those who debarked at Philadelphia and Baltimore. They were Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and German, people who fell right in with the Yankee singing-school masters who were already working in eastern Pennsylvania and thereabouts, and strengthened the singing element among the great masses of settlers who wandered southwestward and westward. In this broad section, the upland South, no musical notation other than the shape sort was known for decades. Of the nineteen singing-books "for churches, singing-schools and private societies" compiled in this section between 1815 and 1855 the most widely used were Kentucky Harmony (Harrisonburg, Va.), Columbian Harmony (Wilson County, Tenn.), Missouri Harmony (St. Louis, Mo.), Genuine Church Music (Winchester, Va.), Southern Harmony (Spartanburg, S. C.), Union Harmony (Maryville, Tenn.), Sacred Harp (Hamilton, Ga.), Hesperian Harp (Wadley, Ga.), and Social Harp (Andersonville, Ga.). Each compiler was a teacher and propagandist of shape-note singing. Naturally, he boosted his own song-book, usually over as wide a territory as possible, in numberless singing-schools, and—beginning around 1850—also in singing conventions. The earlier books were printed from type in various little home-town print-shops. The later ones were made from stereotyped plates, usually in Cincinnati or Philadelphia.

* *
*

The fa-sol-la solmization and its four-shape notation, though immensely popular for half a century, were doomed from the moment when the do-re-mi habit took root on these shores. In the 1840s the South, apparently the last stronghold of the ancestral solmization practices, began to feel the presence of the new notes. And the Civil War period marked the end of growth

for the four-shapers' notation and its books. But, although not a single *new* compilation came out after that period in four-shape notation, at least two of the *older* books remained in wide use. One of these, William Walker's "Southern Harmony," after a popularity extending over more than fifty years following its appearance, is today all but extinct, with "singings" being held annually in but one place, Benton, Ky. The other, "The Sacred Harp of 1844," is still fully alive, with many singing-schools conducted in New England's best manner of one hundred and fifty years ago, and with hundreds of weekly, monthly, or yearly singings or conventions in the territory which extends in a broad belt from northern South Carolina westward, taking in practically all the hill country as far as Oklahoma and northeastern Texas, leaving out the flat coastal lands farther to the south, and Tennessee, and the territory north of it. The "Fasola Folk," those who still apply the Elizabethan names to the notes of songs made in pre-Revolutionary America and sing them with the help of the 132-year-old "patent notes," still number from about 30,000 to 50,000 souls. One may take it reasonably for granted, therefore, that the complete disappearance of that lusty vestige of our early culture remains far off.

But the story of the Fasola four-shapers and their rural guilds is not the whole story of shape-notes. Nor is it the bigger part of that story, quantitatively. When the do-re-mi style reached the domain of the rural southern songsters, it split them into two factions, those intransigents mentioned above who preferred to "seek the old paths and walk therein," and the less conservative and eventually far larger group which saw the advantages of "seven names for seven notes." But even these "moderns" were loath to give up the tried and trusted "glorious patent notes of William Little and William Smith." While the shape-noters were in this quandary, Jesse Aikin, an enterprising Pennsylvania singing-school teacher and song-book compiler, came forward with a voluminous do-re-mi book called "The Christian Minstrel" (Philadelphia, 1846); it was printed in a notation in which the four old shapes were preserved and three others were added, making the ascending diatonic scale appear as follows:



The popularity of the Aikin innovation is proved by the fact that his book enjoyed one hundred and seventy-one editions and

by the even more eloquent fact that he very soon had many imitators. These imitators were made to feel that the shapes, at least the three new ones, were Aikin's own property. So they used the old set of four, nobody's notes, and made their own threesomes to complete the seven. Among such inventive compilers were Alexander Auld of Ohio, M. L. Swan of Tennessee, Joseph Funk of Virginia, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, and William Walker of South Carolina. But the Philadelphian had preëmpted the best primary shapes. His imitators had to make shift with shapes which were far less practicable as note heads. They went on, however, each his own way for some twenty years. In the early seventies Aikin began to see that he would be better off if he made his shapes more available to other song-book producers. And the other compilers not only saw the inherent disadvantages of their own makeshift note shapes but they envisaged the advantages, to all of them, of a united front with a single notation in the entire shape-note field in the face of their now active round-note adversaries. The desired condition was realized beginning with the year 1873. And in a surprisingly short time all seven-shape notations other than the Aikin sort had disappeared.

Aikin's book has been dead long since. But the series of note shapes which he invented is marching on in the little manila-bound books that emerge from more than a score of rural southern print-shops in a total of well over half a million copies a year. These books are used in hundreds of country singing-schools and scores of big singing-conventions. And the singers using these books in the southern states alone must run up into the millions. There probably is a considerable use of the notation elsewhere, too. For some of the publishers tell me that they ship books to every state in the Union. One declared he had made shipments to Europe. The seven-shapers feel quite superior to the "old-timey" four-shapers with whom they have little truck.

* *
*

I shall add a few observations as to the sorts of songs to which this peculiar notation has clung and as to the influence which it has exerted. All the songs in all the varieties of shape-notation have been and are still religious choral pieces. The old-line "fasola" songs are of two principal sorts: the "fuguing" songs of the domestic New England school exemplified by the compositions

of William Billings in the latter part of the eighteenth century,[2] and the "camp-meeting" or "spiritual" songs which appeared in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The fuguing songs, dead everywhere else, are still immensely popular in southern Fasola circles. And the large number of such songs appearing in all editions of the Sacred Harp has been augmented in recent decades by compositions in the same manner by southern rustic musicians. The "spiritual" songs are a body of what was called a hundred years ago the "unwritten music" which grew from the soil, literally, in camp-meeting environments. It was completely unrecorded, that is, as far as the *music* is concerned, before the fasola folk began notating it. They caught the tunes, cobbled three harmonic parts around them, and placed their own names in the right top corner of the page where we usually look for the composer. Thus these singing-school folk became collectors and recorders of a valuable phase of religious folk-song.

The "spiritual" songs are alive today not only among the Sacred Harpers; they are also the main body of song in the books of the Primitive Baptists where they appear in the seven-shape notation. And the ghost of these "white spirituals" walks in the "Negro spirituals," old style. But these Negro "interpretations" of the White Spirituals remained "unwritten" until the white and black folklorists and musicians stepped in.

The seven-shapers by and large have deserted both these older types of song. Their books blossomed out, shortly after the Civil War, in the then new "gospel hymn" type of music. And they have stuck to it, with some little development, ever since. The southern rural song-book compilers now use every year no less than 1500 new songs of this sort, composed by tunesters of their own territory.

The shape-notations may be looked upon as having fulfilled the mission which their originators had in mind. As "singing notes" they have appealed to generations of singers of more or less simple sacred part-songs, and to these alone. They have made singing and learning to read music much easier. And that means that shape-notation has increased popular singing. How much, we can only surmise. The notation has done more. In being allied solely with rurals, and rural institutions, both musical and religious, it has helped to organize and solidify those folk-institutions, folk-mindedness itself, and thus to make the country folk more group-conscious and self-respecting.

[2] *Cf.* The Musical Quarterly, April, 1930, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Fugue-Tune' in America," by Edwin Hall Pierce.

But in helping to organize the rural culture, this musical movement has drawn the fire of the natural enemies (natural in America, at least) of ruralism. I refer to the city-controlled church organizations and to the urban musical institutions. Fifty years ago a prominent maker of Methodist hymnals in Nashville called shape-notation "a dangerous delusion." His church soon learned, however, to fight the shape-note devil with holy fire, that fire being a shape-note edition of the authorized hymnal. Today the Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South prints more shape-note song-books for its country congregations than round-note books for those in the cities.

The urban fosterers of music *comme il faut* became from the start quite put out with their countrified colleagues. It rained epithets. Many an article in the musical magazines of the early post-Civil War period reviled the proponents of "measle-toed" and "square-toed" music, or assured them that their "buckwheat notes" were about "good enough for niggers." The "character-shapes" enthusiasts returned the fire. The editor of the "Musical Million" (chief organ of the country musical-folk, published monthly for over forty years at Dayton in the Valley of Virginia), brought telling sarcasm to bear on the propagandists for the "monkish music" and accused those "round-heads" of trying to put over what was, to his way of thinking, a "foreign language" to the beginner in singing.

Today peace reigns. The country folk—white, black and red (yes, even the Indians of Oklahoma read shape-notes "like a crow picks up corn"), in church, singing-school, and all-day-singing-and-dinner-on-the-grounds—sing from the little 35-cent shape-note books whatever, wherever, and whenever they want to. The urban musician has forgotten his grudge, and even the object of that grudge has passed from his consciousness. The only ones who have a real kick coming are the setters of shape-note music type whose job is about seven times harder than that of the round-note music compositor.

THE EASY INSTRUCTOR;

OR,

A NEW METHOD OF TEACHING

Sacred Harmony.

CONTAINING,

I. THE RUDIMENTS OF MUSIC on an improved Plan, wherein the Naming and Timing of the Notes are familiarized to the weakest Capacity.

II. A choice Collection of PSALM TUNES and ANTHEMS, from the most celebrated Authors, with a number composed in Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the Metres sung in the different Churches in the United States.

Published for the Use of SINGING SOCIETIES in general, but more particularly for those who have not the advantage of an INSTRUCTOR.

BY WILLIAM LITTLE AND WILLIAM SMITH.

PRINTED, TYPOGRAPHICALLY, AT ALBANY,

BY WEBSTERS & SKINNER AND DANIEL STEELE, (Proprietors of the Copy-Right,)

And sold at their respective Book Stores, at the corner of State and Pearl-Streets, and a few doors south of the Old City-Hall, in Court-Street; by T. & J. SWORDS, EVERET DUYCKINCK and WILLIAM FALCONER, *New-York*; WM. J. M'CARTEE, *Schenectady*; A. SEWARD, *Utica*; TRACY & BLISS, *Lansingburgh*; PARKER & BLISS, *Troy*; and INGERSOLL COOK, *New-Haven*.

VAN BENTHUYSEN & NEWTON, TYPOGRAPHERS.

Title-page
of Little and Smith's "The Easy Instructor"
(By courtesy of the Library of Congress)

THE

ART OF SINGING;

IN THREE PARTS:

TO WIT,

I. THE MUSICAL PRIMER,
II. THE CHRISTIAN HARMONY,
III. THE MUSICAL MAGAZINE.

BY ANDREW LAW.

FOURTH EDITION WITH ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.
PRINTED UPON A NEW PLAN.

PUBLISHED ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS.

PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE, BY W. HILLIARD. 1803.

Title-page
of Andrew Law's "The Art of Singing"
(By courtesy of the Library of Congress)





Above: page 18 of Little and Smith's "The Easy Instructor"; below: page 60 of Andrew Law's "The Art of Singing." Each page contains "Old Hundred" in the shape-notation used by the compiler of the book from which it comes.

(By courtesy of the Library of Congress)

THE CELT IN MUSIC

By LEIGH HENRY

A DAY on the bleak coast of County Sligo, in Ireland, when sea-mists from the gray Atlantic hovered like the spirits of Ossian over the cliffs and the peat-stretches. And I, alone and rather solitary in mood, wending through it all, a little glad of the enveloping vapor which separated me from the world of everyday and left me free to follow my thoughts. Good for the outward wandering, this; but not so good when it came to turning back to the house of my Irish cousins. The mist laid necromancy on the landscape, never too easy to memorize, with its long stretches unbroken by any outstanding landmark. It was not long before I realized that the spirits of the mist had their spell on me and that I could not find my way out of the haze which they had laid upon things.

When I was a small boy, my father's old friend, Lord Baden-Powell, came to stay awhile with us. It was not so long after the siege of Mafeking and he remained a hero to me for his brave and yet whimsical defence of that town in the South African War. So I waited on his every word with intense attention. And I can remember his telling how the Matabele natives have a proverb which says: "If we go forward, we die! If we go backward, we die! Better go forward and die!" Nothing menaced me that day; but the axiom seemed good to me. I just went forward on the nearest thing to a path which I could discern.

Anything fantastic might have occurred on such a day. I was scarcely startled, therefore, when, at a turn of the road, I came upon an old Irish crone seated brooding and motionless by the pathway. The mist has a strange trick of enlarging things in Ireland. At first glance she loomed superhumanly and might well have been the very Mother of Mists herself. But, as vision grew clearer, she lost something of her first impressiveness. Nevertheless, so still and aloof, so much part of the gray vista was she in her gray cloak, with her wizened, browned face marked by what seemed the wrinkles of immemorial years, that one might well have expected her to voice the words of William Butler Yeats' ancient nurse in *Countess Kathleen:*

> The years, like great black oxen, tread the sky,
> and God, the herdsman, goads them ever on,
> and I am broken by their passing feet. . . .

At least, so much an epitome to that brooding country did she seem that, had she had an old clay pipe, one would have

known that so complete a type of the old Irishwoman could not be real and that she must be some mist-dream.

She had no pipe; and so I was emboldened to regard her, however austere, as human; and as I drew alongside her, I ventured to address her.

I had not the Gaelic at that time; so it was in the patois of the local peasants that I spoke to her. "Mother," I said, "Is it yourself that will be telling me the way to B * * * ?" She did not stir. Only her sunken eyes raised themselves to me slowly, as though I recalled her from a vision. She looked at me steadily a few seconds, right into my eyes. Then her shrunken lips parted and she spoke in an aged, cracked voice: "Sure and I'll be tellin' ye! For it's way over the tap ye'll be goin' and a bit beyant, till it's the old house itself ye'll be comin' to; and the old house itself not there any longer, but only the remains of it standin'. And then it's be the right wanst ye'll be goin' and be the left wanst, and it's be the owld withered tree ye'll be findin' yerself, the same that was blasted be the lightenin' this many a day forby. And 'tis then be the right wanst and be the left wanst and agen be the right ye'll be goin' and it's be the three owld trees ye'll be comin' and they all tied together in their branches. And it's wanst more be the right and wanst more be the left ye'll be goin' and it's the say itself ye'll be seein' before ye; and when ye've come wanst more be the right and be the left, 'tis right there ye'll be."

I pondered the directions. I scrutinized mentally the glibness and detail of the direction and I had doubts. I spoke to her again.

"'Tis myself will be thankful to you, Mother," I said, "but is it yourself that's sure you'll not be letting the lie on me?"

She regarded me quite unmoved, with a world of wisdom in her eyes. Her cracked voice came again, unaltered in its monotonous tone.

"Sure, son," she answered, "'tis meself will be lettin' the lie on ye when the stars be fallin' and the sun be burnt up like a peat-turf and the say itself will be as dry as an owld cow's udders in a drought; and 'tis then I'll be lettin' the lie on ye!"

Around me things grew suddenly still. I was ashamed of my sophisticated condescension to the peasant. For I had heard the words of a race of poets. This wizened old woman had answered me in phrases which would thrill one in the Abbey Theater of Dublin, or halt one from the pages of an Irish poem.

I bent my head to her and thanked her, as simply as I could, and went on. And when, after finding the truth of her directions, I had come again to where I was staying, I told my cousins: "An old woman said this to me this day." But the old adage about familiarity and contempt holds. They smiled and said: "Oh, all the people hereabouts talk in that way." I closed in on myself and said nothing more.

* *
*

Years passed and the memory of this encounter scarcely remained with me. Then, one night, or rather, early morning, poring over the new *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, by T. W. Rollitson, absorbed and deeply stirred by the glamor of its pages, I came on the history of how Alexander of Macedon—Alexander the Great—had conferred to make treaty with the Celts on the northern frontiers of ancient Greece. And after they had conferred seven days, they were agreed. So Alexander spoke to the Celtic envoys, saying, "We are of one accord; so sign our treaty!" And the envoys answered him, "We are Celts! We sign nothing; but we give our word; and when we forswear our given word, the stars shall crumble from the sky, the sun shall be burnt to cold ashes and the vastness of the sea shall run dry!"

And as I read, the vista of that misty Sligo sea-coast formed itself before my mental vision and I heard again the cracked voice of an aged Irish peasant woman reproving me with the words of a poet. The same images, the same oath, despite all the centuries which had passed from the storied days of the Great Golden Ram to the day in 1905 when I heard that old woman, bent, unkempt and unlettered, on the West Coast of Ireland. Through the ages that oath of truth, with its epic symbols, had persisted, when books were not and men travelled only with great pain and endurance and human knowledge was scanty and the Dark Ages intervened.

And so there came to me that night a great rush of understanding and a great flood of pride which exceeded all small egotism, and I was humble and grateful to be one of that Celtic race which could so carry its beauty of thought and maintain its poetic symbols through the trackless years. For I realized that here was something eternal, outliving the rise and fall of empires, exceeding the pomps that crumble into the dust, stronger than sword or monument, kin with the everlasting hills and rocks.

I think it was so that I came to my spiritual home, to the glamorous region of the spirit which is the realm of the Celtic soul. I think "strangely opening doors" sought by the Welsh poet, Howell Davies, rolled back for me then. For, from that time, I was aware of a new identity in which my own small eruditions and my own small self-absorptions were lost in the wonder of a vast and persistent tradition, an immortal racial spirit; and in that immersion I commenced to find, not only myself, but also the key to many mysteries.

So it was that I turned to probe the Celtic elements in the history of European civilization. So it was that I, being a musician, also came to know many hidden influences whereby my Celtic people had created traits of beauty in that civilization's music.

For, as one surveys the evolution of European nations, as one marks the waves of thought and of spiritual influences throughout their history, one becomes gradually aware that those same Celts, now scattered into small groups of peoples—into the Highlanders of Scotland, the Irish, the inhabitants of the little Principality of Wales and the province of Brittany—have repeatedly been a fountainhead of ideas which have dominated the imagination of Europe.

The keynote of the Middle Ages was the ideal of chivalry. Rapidly and suddenly it grew, and as it grew it spread a romantic glow through many lands. It gave a new reverence to womanhood. It made service an ideal. It gave the conception of charity and of knight-errantry. It was immortalized in many stirring and deeply moving legendary types. It endowed mediæval poetry with a new, strangely luminous and exquisite imagery. It made a whole epoch picturesque, decorative, and glamorous.

Whence did this strange new thing come? It came from the steadfast, hilly strongholds of the driven Celtic peoples, the last stronghold held desperately and tenaciously, with a race's back to the ocean's voids. It came from the tiny, yet spiritually invincible Principality of Wales.

There a people had persisted in spiritual growth in spite of all the terrors of endless wars, the strife and the struggle to maintain not merely independence, but existence. No clamor of arms had succeeded in stilling the utterances of song and poetry among these Celts. However valiantly they fought, however desperately they were embroiled, their first thought in any moment of comparative quietude, was towards music and poetry. Inheriting a vast mythology, having an ancient relationship with Hellenic

lands, living in the model of their gods and heroes, they had themselves taken on something of the spiritual immortality of their gods; they were the Ever-Living People symbolized in their ancient deities, the Tuatha Te-Danaan, The Ever-Young.

With a flash of vision, Renan enunciated that there were but two aristocrats among races—the Jew and the Celt. For these peoples, in spite of all migrations and misfortunes, have preserved a racial identity in its purest known form; more, have maintained a racial spirit of profoundly exalted traits in defiance of all other influences which should have submerged such traits.

More still, little by little, not by force, not by material power, but through the potency of this spirit, both have impressed it on the mind of humanity, sometimes making its impress conscious, sometimes more subtly and subconsciously infusing it.

Where would have been the chivalry of the Middle Ages, the glamorous figures of Lancelot, Gwenhyvar, Tristan and Yseult, Sir Gawain, dark Modred, the Lady of the Lake, sardonic Kai, Parsifal, and the central glowing figure of King Arthur, had not Geoffrey of Monmouth written his *Brut*, or *Briton*, which professes to be a translation from a Celtic source? What would not have been lost to lay and minstrel song, had not these shining images emerged from the Welsh *Mabinogion?* What luminous imagery would not have been forever lacking in the verses of Trouvère and Troubadour had not they found their way, through Geoffrey of Monmouth's version and the later imitations of it by the Anglo-Norman Geoffroi Gaimar, into the thoughts and episodes of French and Provençal minstrelsy? They were the inspiration of a thousand outpourings. They became the very types of mediæval ideology. They brought to brilliant flowering the whole of the Romance spirit. They persisted as dominating symbols in Europe's romantic imagination throughout ages. Even Richard Wagner was enchanted by them. Without them *Lohengrin*, *Parsifal* and above all, *Tristan und Isolde* would never have been. From the *Brut*, through the romances of Chrestien, the *Morte d'Arthur* of Mallory, and the ballades of Troubadours and lieder of Minnesingers, one traces the luminous track of their conquest of Europe—the conquest of all civilized lands by a race terrestrially outnumbered, scattered, and saved from complete doom only by the pertinacity of its spirit.

In all races such a spirit has created epics of varying imagination; but among few has the racial consciousness imprinted itself indelibly on the most intimate forms of lyricism. Yet all poetry

of Celtic peoples is essentially and unmistakably true to race type; and the same must be conceded of their every musical form. So true is this, that, even after the years necessitated for its international penetration, the Celtic influence, when it reached Provence, not only conveyed to the Romance people its wealth of imagery; it also endowed Troubadour art with its intricacy of metric forms.

The reason for this becomes clear when we review the growth of poetry and music in the life of Celtic peoples and come to realize their potency in the evolution of Celtic civilization. For the Celts, as for their old-time neighbors, the classic Greeks, poetry and music were facets of a main expressive art entity. The metric elements common to both united them inseparably. And for the Celts, as for the Greeks, rhythm had an ethical significance. But whereas the Greeks were pagans and materialists to a great degree, the Celts inherited from their early Aryan origins near the Indus the characteristic mysticism of the East. A comparison between Brahmanism and Druidism would provide interesting food for reflection, but is too remote from our present subject for discussion here. It should be recalled, however, that the ethical and mystical concepts of Pythagoras were attributed to Druidic teachings by the Greek master himself, and that on their basis many subsequent ethical conceptions of music have been erected, extending over the period of Boethius, through St. Ignatius and Jerome of Moravia, and affecting *en route* Guido d'Arezzo, down even to the musical dissenter, Rousseau.

Among most ancient races, the use of definite metres and rhythms as an aid to the memory of tribal chroniclers in orally perpetuating the given people's traditions, has been adopted. With the Celts, however, such usage was further developed by their mystical and ethical conceptions. In many ways, as one investigates these, one is led to wonder how far Plato himself may have been aware of the Druidic beliefs, as affecting the ethical values of melodies and rhythmic metres.

Hence it is not surprising to find that poets and musicians held a high place, not only in the religious rites of the Celts, but also in the grades of their social orders. Never, elsewhere, have poet and musician been so honored publicly in the daily life and the social institutions of their people. For, while kingship could be arrived at only through the priestly Order of Druids, the Druids themselves were obliged to be proficient in poetry and music and their ranks were recruited only through the immediately lower Order of Bards. So distinctive was the honor paid to

music and poetry, the two arts combining in the vocation of the Bards, or minstrel-novices for priesthood, that it affected even their habiliments as Celtic people. Cæsar speaks of the striped raiment worn by the Gauls, or Celts of France, Hispano-Gaul, or Spain, and Britain. These stripes were no product of accident or caprice. They were definitely symbolic and definitely affirmed the social rank of their wearers. The king might wear seven colors. The Druids, or priests, might wear six. The Bards—poets and musicians, be it remarked—came next, wearing five. Governors of provinces wore four, hereditary nobles three, military commanders two and the people one. Each Celtic tribe had its distinctive range of colors, and from these we can trace today the tartan of Scotland, with its criss-cross overlayings of stripes as clan intermarried with clan. It is not only in Scotland that the tartan remains. In parts of Languedoc—*En Tartane*, as Déodat de Séverac, the genial musician of the Midi, immortalized the locality in his Languedoc pieces—the Celtic tradition persists, as it does also in parts of Spanish Gaul, or Galicia.

* *
*

When we come to Wales, we find the Bards occupying a high place in the Cymric, or Welsh, social ordinances through which Howell Dda, or Howell the Good, perfected the ancient decrees and laws of Dyfnalt Moelmud. In these ninth-century laws—which formed the basis of the Common Law of England, as formulated by Alfred the Great when the Welsh codes were translated for him by his Welsh bishop-tutor, Asser Manevensis—we find the Bard ranking high. He came next to the master of the king's household and had correspondingly high perquisites and honors. He sat at the high table and provided the chant of thanksgiving, as well as the lays of honor to the king and his guests. The Bards were given jurisdiction to administer laws of their own among the members of their Order. Hence, when Christianity reached the Celts, it found a great bardic, or minstrel, tradition, backed by high ethical concepts and by fully evolved laws of conduct, and an administration on which to found the centers of morals and culture which made the monasteries and colleges of Ireland and Western Scotland and Wales the models of learning to the Middle Ages.

With such a background, it is not surprising to find that music was vastly more advanced in Celtic countries in mediæval times than it was elsewhere in Europe. While even at Cluny, with a

Gallic background, much was in a state of dubiety concerning musical art, and while Europe was still subservient to the drab "diaphony" of Pseudo-Hucbald, in Wales and Ireland the Celtic bards had organized their musical laws with remarkable regularity and had evolved musical media astonishing in their comparative modernity of conception.

Vocally, the Celts were far ahead of other peoples in their development of choric forms. "Singing together each his individual song" was a practice known in the days of the Saxon invasion. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Itinerary of Wales*, stresses the fact that the Britons, when singing together, did not sing in unison, as, according to his remarks, did the peoples of other nations at that time ("There are heard as many parts as there are singers present"). In other words, on his evidence, backed by other contemporary sources, we must concede—even though we may discount something for the good Gerald de Barry's surprise and probably vague perception of variety, since we can scarcely conceive of a musical chant composed of one hundred real vocal parts merely because one hundred people are singing—that the Celts were, through their practices, familiar with the idea of polyphony at a time when other European nations were limited to monody.

Celtic advancement in music was not confined to vocal music. Instrumentally the Celts reveal not only proficiency unusual elsewhere, but also, on the evidence of the traditional instruments surviving from antiquity, that their instrumental music was rather complex compared with that of the rest of Europe. The ancient Welsh harp, by its stringing, shows the presence of chromaticism, and traditional usages, mentioned in ancient Celtic bardic chronicles and ordinances, demonstrate familiarity with simple forms of harmony at a very early epoch. These, as later developed in conformity with distinctively Celtic modes, provided a harmonic tissue which, compared to the kinds in use in other lands, was of an extremely involved type.

Progress was scarcely to be wondered at; for, with the Celts, the musical festival was a national event, as still today in the Eisteddfod in Wales and the Gaelic Mod in Scotland, or the Feis Coil in Ireland. The national gathering among Celtic clans always took the form of a festival of poetry and music. The clan assembled to sit in bardic judgment of poetry and music, to sit and absorb the spiritual qualities of these arts. The custom is perpetuated in the very name of the Eisteddfod—the seating of the nation, *Eisteddwch*, or "Pray be Seated."

The Eisteddfod can be traced back into the history of Gaul. Early in the development of Britain it had assumed considerable proportions. We have extant the records of the Great Eisteddfod held in the eleventh century under Cynan, Prince of Gwynnedd, or North Wales, at Caerwys, at which a vast assembly of Welsh and Irish bards foregathered to determine the laws of good music-making. At this assembly the bards competed, the Irish excelling in instrumental playing of the harp and *crwth*, or Welsh viol, the Welsh in poetic metres and singing. Very little later we read of a similar royal assembly in South Wales, when the Lord Rhys, the Prince of Southern Wales, called another Eisteddfod of bards, which lasted, with rich ceremonies and much feasting, for a week.

It is interesting to revert momentarily to the Welsh crwth. For in this instrument the Celts gave to Europe her first stringed, bowed instrument. In itself the crwth provides an illuminating sidelight on ancient Celtic music. It was provided with a drone-string which vibrated alongside the bowed strings and so formed a kind of drone accompaniment, yet another sign of the early Celtic feeling for polyphonic effect.

To the crwth, however, Europe generally, and Great Britain especially, owes much more. We read of "greater and lesser" crwth-playing in Wales as far back as the thirteenth century, and the distinction shows that the Welsh had developed a greater diversity than their Saxon neighbors produced when they adopted the instrument and named it *crowd* or *rota*. The Welsh love of assembling together led naturally to a growth of domestic music, first in the convivial singing in parts which impressed Giraldus Cambrensis, and later in instrumental playing. The custom of harp ensemble-playing survives in Wales to this day; and we find that in the fourteenth century similar group-playing of the crwth was common in Wales. This, with its "greater and lesser" crwth, was, indeed, an early form of string ensemble. There is no record of any similar string ensemble elsewhere at the time or for some years later.

* *
*

It is significant that only with the ascent to the English throne of the Welsh Tudor line, through Henry Tudor, Henry VII of England, the son of Owain ap Tudor, a Welsh prince, did the string ensemble appear in England. The Elizabethan "chest of viols" corresponded precisely to the precedent "greater and lesser"

crwth combinations of the Cymric Principality. Thus we may justifiably trace to Wales the source of what eventually became European chamber-music.

It is to a Welshman, also, that the world owes one of its first string-ensemble compositions, the "Consorts for Viols" of John Jenkins, a Jacobean composer of the early part of the seventeenth century. Purcell himself was conversant with the work of Jenkins, famous in its day, and there are no small traces of its influence on the Restoration composer's own Fantasies for strings. Purcell would be the more likely to regard a Welshman's music sympathetically because of his own tuition by a Welshman, Pelham Humfrey, or Humphries, the Court Composer of King Charles II of England and Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, among whom Purcell received his training. That Purcell had Celtic proclivities is shown by his essays in Celtic idiom, such as his "Newe Irish Ayre" and other works.

The accession of Welsh sovereigns in England gave an impetus to Welsh aspirations in many ways. The Welsh felt that they had vindicated the ancient prophecy that a prince of royal Welsh line should rule in London. The Welsh dragons, supporting the arms of London, adopted with the Tudor accession, still bear witness today to the Welsh triumph. Throughout the Tudor era the very Royal Arms of England incorporated the same Red Dragon, until it was superseded by the Scottish Unicorn of the first Stuart king, James I. At Temple Bar today the Welsh dragon still gazes towards Ludgate Hill, the ancient Hill of Ludd, or Lyr, the Sun God (no less a person than King Lear of Celtic legend incorporated into Shakespeare's tragedy). It was to this height that Henry Tudor proceeded to fulfil the Cymric prophecy by assuming, in the Christian Cathedral of St. Paul, standing on the site of the ancient Druidic Mound of Worship, the crown won for him on Bosworth Field by Rhys ap Tudor of South Wales and Ap Einion of Shrewsbury.

Welsh names are frequently recorded in Tudor times as prominent in music, and the music of the Tudor era gave Great Britain a place unequalled among nations. Back in the first publications of Wynkyn de Worde we find high honor given to Morgan Crug, or Grig. Henry VIII, himself a composer of no small merit, had a keen liking for this master's music. And throughout the Tudor period the Welsh played an honorable part in Britain's music.

Among the names of the first masters of the art-song, who can neglect that of Robert Jones, the Elizabethan lutenist-poet who

so signally maintained the dual rôle of the bards of his Wales? Contemporaries speak with high esteem of the pioneer work in musical theory rendered by Elway Bevin (1570-1640), organist of Bristol Cathedral, 1589, and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, 1605, who, beside many highly individual motets and madrigals, wrote his famous *Briefe and Short Introduction to the Art of Musicke*, published in London in 1631. In Pelham Humfrey we find a characteristic Celtic inclination towards dance-forms such as the hornpipe and jig, which in turn affected Purcell. "Hornpipe" is a term literally translating the name of the instrument originally played pastorally by the *pibgorn* or pipe-horn players of Welsh rural districts as far back as the twelfth century, the use of the Celtic pipes going back, of course, to remote antiquity and marking all localities that have Celtic antecedents. The pibgorn was an instrument of the musette type. Its music became related with the sea owing to the fact that the instrument was first used by the mariners of Prys Gryffydd, the famous Welsh sea-captain of Tudor days.

Right down to the wane of typically British music, with the accession of the Hanoverians and the establishment of a Germanic ascendency which continued without strong opposition to the end of the Victorian era, we find Celtic or Cymric influences working, directly or indirectly, in British music. One of the outstanding composers of Queen Anne's days was the Welshman, Richard Jones, who wrote works with a typically Celtic ceremonial cast: marches, pageant music, and stately dances. His trumpet music is particularly interesting and his proficiency in such writing was probably assisted by his close friendship with Shore, the Royal Trumpeter. In his dance sequences Richard Jones did much to advance the Suite, from which evolved the Symphony, and his influence on his time is testified to by the most eminent British composer of his day, Dr. John Blow, who paid him high tribute.

That the influx of Welsh musicians into England should have brought highly distinctive traits to British music was natural. The indomitable spirit of Welsh independence was extended to the national art of music, so that, by the time of the Tudor accession, a musical tradition had been evolved, capable of contributing something new to that of the English. Early in the history of the Cymric Church St. David had combated Latin influences and insisted that the Welsh refuse the Gregorian Modes and retain the Celtic ones. A similar stand was made by the Iberians of Spain, who so maintained their right that even today it is a Byzantine (Mozarabic) and not a Gregorian liturgy which

one hears in Southern Spain. Gerald de Barry, or Giraldus Cambrensis, was a later rebel against Latin authority, who long maintained his fight against the suzerainty of Canterbury and Rome alike.

* *
*

The most complex rhythmic form evolved in Celtic music is that of the Penillion Chant. This perpetuates an essentially bardic conception, and its rhythmic counterpoises indubitably had their original source in narrative gesture counterbalanced against melody, which later evolved into liturgical ritual and thence drifted back into the folk-song of the Cymric peoples, to produce a lay form.

Right up to our own day the Penillion remains a living and practised form of folk-song in Wales. It forms a strongly emphasized feature of the Gorsedd Stone and Gorsedd Circle Ceremonies of the Orders of Druids and Bards at each annual Royal Welsh National Eisteddfod. It forms a part of the musical knowledge demanded of every aspirant for the degree of *Pencerdd*, or Bardic Musician, in the Order of the Gorsedd of Bards of Britain, as conferred by bardic examination each year, the judges being members of the *Bwrdd Cerdd*, or National Music Board of the Gorsedd of Wales.

The singing of Penillion follows certain highly evolved rules of what we can only term counterpoint, not of notes against notes, but of rhythms against rhythms. The Telynores, or official Gorsedd Harpist, enunciates a Cymric folk-tune, in one given rhythm, or metre. The Penillion Singer then enters as this melody proceeds, the measure of his entry being determined by the form of counter-rhythm which he elects to employ. Penillion may be sung in varying counter-rhythms, many of which are so complex as to counterpoise seven against four, five against four, three against two, three against four, and so forth. The counter-rhythmic melody may be a real discant or may, more authentically, consist of the initially enunciated harp-melody, transformed rhythmically and extemporaneously by various kinds of ornamentation or elision, or by augmentation, in time-value, of the original melody notes.

It is interesting to remark, in view of the southern course of Celtic influences traced into Spain, that the only correspondence there to the Cymric Penillion, as sung in Wales and Brittany and remote parts of Cornwall, is found in the Cante Jondo of Andalusia,

some of the Malagueña forms of Cadiz, and certain bagpipe-and-voice folk-tunes of Spanish Galicia. In Provence, again significantly, a similar rhythmic counterpoise, marked by dance-steps, is employed, not by solo voice against instruments, but by choric voices singing in rhythmic counterpoise against each other.

One considerable musical evidence of the Celtic influence may be found in the persistent carriage of drone-instruments along the route of the Celtic migratory march. We find the bagpipes generally regarded as racial instruments among all the Celts, whether of the Swiss Alps, of Galicia in Spain, of Gascon France and other parts of the old French duchy of Guienne ("Guienne" is the French form of the Cymric word, "Gwyn"), of Brittany, Scotland, and Ireland, or of the pibgorn-playing districts of Wales. The Celtic-Scaldic liaison is emphasized when we again encounter the pipes in Norway. In all the varieties of bagpipes, cornemuses or musettes, used in these countries, we find the drone-pipe an essential and characteristic part of the instrument, as it still remains in the Aryan localities of India. The drone-principle, as already mentioned, persisted in the Welsh crwth of the early Middle Ages. It is also found in the practice of reversion to a pedal-note on the harp, repeatedly sounded in certain forms of old Cymric harp-playing, while the Telynores continues the given melody. In the bass parts of early British string-ensemble music, the "consorts" of John Jenkins, some of the works of Humfrey, and even some of Purcell's, we find the same pedal-drone principle applied; even in many of the madrigals of the Cymric-Tudor era in England, the voices maintain a similar pedal-note while other voices proceed with a melody. Russian folk-song evidences many similar examples, and in the Scaldic districts of Norway we find the pipe-drone and choral pedal-drone generally employed, as it is by Edvard Grieg in his use of Nordic folk idioms.

* *
*

Not long ago I made search for those contemporary British composers who were not, wholly or in part, of Celtic origin. The result gave me Gustav Holst, Frederic Delius, and Eugene Goossens; only later did I realize that there is Irish blood in Goossens, on the maternal side. For the rest, Ralph Vaughan Williams is, as his name incontrovertibly denotes, of pure Welsh stock and of a family historically noted in Wales. Sir Granville Bantock is a Scot, who found his true spiritual home when he came upon the

Hebrides and their folk-lore and gave us the noble *Hebridean Symphony*, the essentially Gaelic music to *Macbeth*—knit like Scottish granite and as somberly impressive as the Highland mists—and his Hebridean opera, *The Seal Woman*. Elgar comes, with a name familiar in Wales, from the Celtic Fringe of the West Country, embracing Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester, noted in Tudor days for their cathedral organists, several of whom were pure Celts. Sir John McEwen, principal of the Royal Academy of Music, London, is a Scot, as is Sir Hugh Allen, head of the Royal College of Music. Celtic names crowd on us from other contemporary British composers. Arnold Bax, master poet of Irish legendary lore in music, composer of *The Garden of Fand*, *From the Faery Hills*, *The Celtic Song Cycle* to words of Fiona McLeod, the Cornish-Celtic tone-poem, *Tintagel*, and many more works essentially Celtic in spirit and tonal substance, leaps naturally to mind. Alongside him is the Silurian, from the Celtic Fringe, Herbert Howells, inspired by such typically Celtic things as sprites, in *Puck's Minuet*, and filled with Celtic love of pageantry in *The Procession*. At Harlech Josef Holbrooke, though half-English, has reverted to his maternal forbears in his Celtic music-drama to libretti by the Welsh Marcher peer, Lord Howard de Walden, *The Children of Don*, *Dylan*, *Bronwen*, and instrumental works equally imbued with the spirit and imagery of the Cymric *Mabinogion*. Thomas Dunhill, chosen setter of William Butler Yeats, is Irish. So also is Norman O'Neill, composer of *Mary Rose*, the music used in the English production of Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird*, and the splendid *Variations on an Irish Theme* for two pianos. John Ireland has responded to the Celtic spirit in his symphonic prelude *Maeduin*, as is natural to one with his Erse antecedents, although he is Manchester-born. Of the older generation the two outstanding figures were Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, purely Irish in derivation, composer of the fine *Irish Rhapsodies*, the *Irish Symphony*, and many famous Irish songs, including *The Pibroch* and *Father O'Flynn*. Sir Hubert Parry was of Welsh antecedents, from the Celtic Fringe of Gloucester. Sir Edward German's born name, Edward German Jones, denotes his Welsh extraction. He was born at the old Welsh capital of Shrewsbury. He revived, popularly, in his world-famous music to *Henry VIII*, the typically Welsh lilts of the Cymric Tudor era. His other noted opera, *Tom Jones*, is based on Fielding's Anglo-Welsh romantic hero of like name. In Wales itself a definitely national school of composition, developed along modern lines, but on the

racial idiom and metric traditions of Cymru, has arisen this past decade, headed by David (or Dafydd) Vaughan-Thomas, composer of *The Bard*, *The Hall of Cynddylan*, *Bywyd*, and other characteristically Welsh works, including his notable and lovely cycle of songs, *Saith o Ganeuon* (seven songs on poems by the mediæval Welsh poet, Dafydd ap Gwilym, from whom Chaucer derived many traits and much of his imagery). The texts are definitely in the old Welsh bardic *Cywydd* metre. The *Englyn* metre of the bardic tradition, that in which the triads of Taliessin and the ancient Welsh bardic seers were written, has been most exquisitely developed by Dafydd de Lloyd, who has succeeded Sir Walford Davies as the chief of the music faculty of the University of Wales at Aberystwyth. Other well-known Welsh composers of today, following similar lines, are Tawe-Jones, of Carmarthen, who has concentrated on choral-orchestral forms, Haydn Morris, concentrating on chamber music, and Gwynn Williams, who has concerned himself most with song-forms arising from rustic Welsh folklore.[1]

Among British conductors, an outstanding name is that of Sir Hamilton Harty, conductor of the famous Hallé Orchestra of Manchester, who is known to the United States through his recent visits. Harty is as good a composer as he is a conductor, and all his work is permeated with his Irish race. It is enough to recall his overture, *With the Wild Geese*, or his splendid *Irish Symphony*, to vindicate this statement.

The Celts in American music are not inconsiderable. Edgar Stillman Kelley, Victor Herbert, and Arthur Foote are all Irish. Horatio Parker traced to Scots forbears. Henry Gilbert came of Irish stock. Charles Griffes had Welsh origins. His lovely musical imagery interpreted the Celtic imagination in tone; for the *Kubla Khan* of Coleridge was the dream-pageant of a poet surrounded by the Celtic Lake Country of Cumberland, and no mere piece of Oriental local color. With the tone-poem of Griffes, *The Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan*, the dream-pageant reverted to its own spiritual realm of origin. In Frank Patterson we have an

[1]The author has himself been listed by those writing on contemporary Welsh music, critics such as Hadley Watkins, the Welsh conductor of Bournemouth's Municipal Chorus, as representative of Wales' new idiomatically national note in symphonic music, with his symphonic poem, *The Legend of Llyn-y-Fan Fach* given at the Royal National Eisteddfod of 1926 and by the London Symphony Orchestra and the Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Sir Dan Godfrey; his suite, *The Wind on the Hills*, written for young Princess Elizabeth and played in England by the Northern Symphony Orchestra, and in New York by the Sinfonietta of New York, Quinto Maganini, cond.; his Cymric Elegy, *The Flame-Bearers*, given by Sir Dan Godfrey at Bournemouth, and his chamber orchestral suite, *Ache of Dreams*, given by the London Wireless Symphony Orchestra in 1926.—*Ed.*

Irish Celt. In Deems Taylor one of distant Welsh and Irish antecedents and a musician who has treated Celtic folk-music with exquisite subtlety, sensibility, and grace of touch. With Emerson Whithorne we revert to Scottish forbears; and at the extreme end of contemporary American modernity we have Henry Cowell, son of an Irish-American poet, a very leprechaun to the view, with a touch of the Irish faery-changeling in his every movement and every elusive shade of thought. And it is interesting to note that the imagination of Cowell, in his remarkable application of new methods to the piano, turned to the *Banshee* of Ireland and, in the *Tides of Manaunaun*, to the ancient Irish sea-god, for its first inspiration.

* *
*

A whole literature might be written around the fascinating subject of the spiritual influence of the Celt in music and art, and around actual Celtic achievements in the arts. For in poetry and painting these achievements are equally strong. Even such a movement of mid-Victorian times as the pre-Raphaelite one, owed its main force to the Welsh William Morris, and the Scottish-Welsh Burne-Jones, while British painting today is headed by the recently deceased Irish Orpen, and the Welsh Augustus John, with the Welsh Brangwyn, just behind.

Enough has been instanced, it can be hoped, to direct further attention to the engrossing subject of the Celt in art, and to prove, as I came to believe through my old Irish crone and the reading of ancient Celtic history, that he has contributed a spiritual element indelible throughout the records of the music of the civilized world; more, something which has vitally stimulated music's growth and has given a glamorous quality to many of the loveliest things into which the spirit of music has flowered.

THE FOLK-MUSIC OF GEORGIA

By VICTOR BELAIEV

IN order to describe—however briefly—the folk-music of Georgia we shall have to outline the peculiar features of Georgian music as a national art. It is usually supposed that national peculiarities in music (as in any other art) consist in the differences perceptible between the music of different peoples; but it would be more correct to ascribe them, not only to the differences but also to the similarities existing between the music of one nation and that of others. This point of view is based on the observed fact that not a single nation of the world has been developed in complete isolation from its neighbors, nor is there any which has not been subjected to extraneous influences at nearly every stage of its evolution. We may therefore define the peculiarities of any national music as the result of their preservation despite foreign influences, and of the absorption of such influences and their treatment in the national manner.

Before proceeding to an appreciation of Georgian music from this standpoint, we must summarize the main facts of the country's history, in order to account for the most important intrusions of outside influences into that music. As the academician, N. Y. Marr, pointed out not long ago: "The primitive Caucasian races, and even their languages, are not of local origin: the Japhetic family—the first inhabitants of the Caucasus—were immigrants, just as were the Aryo-Europeans and Turks who made their appearance later on."[1] These descendants of Japhet, to whom the forefathers of the modern Georgians (Kartvellians) belonged, entered the Caucasus from Mesopotamia in the tenth century. The penetrating process was of long duration and was accomplished under the pressure of various Indo-European peoples. About the same time the Phœnician traders established their colonies on the western coast of Georgia, and a century later were followed by the Greeks. In the fourth century B. C., Georgia combined to form a single political unit, in order to resist by force of arms the Greek immigration which had made its way into Asia Minor with Alexander of Macedon's troops. But the rise of the

[1] N. Y. Marr, "The Racial Composition of the Inhabitants of the Caucasus." Petrograd, 1920, p. 10.

neighbouring country, Armenia, the intermediary through which the trade between the East and the Mediterranean was transacted, brought Georgia under its political influence in the first century B. C. Subsequently Georgia came under the ascendancy of Rome, and then of Persia, until, in the seventh century, it was occupied by the Arabs. In the eleventh century it fell into the hands of the Seljukian Turks, and, in the thirteenth century, into those of the Mongols. Prior to the advent of the latter, Georgia succeeded in attaining to the position of the most powerful state in the Caucasus, and the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth may be termed the golden age of its history. But the waves of Mongol invasion, which swept through the land several times, brought about its utter decay, and it was powerless to resist the constant attacks of the Persians and Turks, who devastated it alternately. At the opening of the nineteenth century, Georgia was incorporated with Russia, but in 1921 Soviet rule was proclaimed there, after which it joined the U. S. S. R. as an independent member of the Trans-Caucasian federation.

From this brief summary of Georgian history we see that the original settlers were the descendants of Japhet, representatives of the ancient Sumerian culture, who were subjected to the influences of the East (Persia and Turkey) and the Mediterranean (Phœnicia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome). This simple historical information, together with Marr's dictum that "there are no primitive races in the Caucasus, but there are very vigorous survivals of ancient forms, which still exist side by side with the highest cultural attainments of its present-day inhabitants,"[2] offers a wide field for the study of the peculiarities of the folk-music. Considered in their musical and archæological aspects these forms prove to be very valuable relics of an extremely remote musical civilization.

* *
*

Let us now consider from these points of view the national instruments of Georgia. They may be divided into three main groups: strings, wind, and percussion. The strings include instruments of the harp, dulcimer, and lute (both bowed and plucked) types; among the wind we meet with flutes and instruments resembling the oboe and the clarinet; the percussion comprise tambourines and drums. Notwithstanding their variety, we

[2]See p. 21 of Marr., *op. cit.*

cannot affirm that any one of them is of purely Georgian origin, though we must admit that several have definitely local peculiarities which compel us to regard them as belonging to the Georgian national type.

Thus a very general survey of the Georgian group of instruments confirms the opinion expressed at the beginning of this article: that the distinguishing features of the music of any people are very largely due to the incorporation of foreign influences to which a national flavour has been imparted. Unfortunately, the Georgian instruments have not been studied hitherto, nor even accurately described, and we must therefore confine ourselves to a few very general observations concerning them.

Among those of the harp type we find the *changi* (sometimes erroneously called the *pandura*[3]) of the Svanians and Mingrelians. It is quite possible that the Georgian changi was brought to the Caucasus from Mesopotamia by the Japhetic ancestors of the Georgians. In this connection it is interesting to recall the discovery of an eleven-stringed Sumerian harp of the thirty-fifth century B. C.[4] in the course of the excavations at Ur in 1928-29. Harps similar to the Svanian changi were also used in Egypt, in the thirtieth century B. C., and in Bactria in the third century B. C. It is further characteristic that the existing Central Asian instrument known as the chang is of the dulcimer type, whereas Persian literature contains references to an ancient chang which is described as resembling a harp. The former, which is fairly widespread, is known in Georgia as the *santuri* (the Arabian *santir*) or the *zinzila*, and hence cannot be considered as of Georgian origin. Georgian features are far more evident in some of their instruments of the lute type (bowed or plucked). To the plucked group belong the *chonguri* (also known as the *panduri*) and the *tari*, whilst the bowed group includes the *chianuri* (or *chunir*), the *fandir*, the *panduri*, and the *kemancha*. Of these the tari (identical with the Persian *tar*) and the kemancha (similar to the Central Asian *gidjak*) must be considered the most perfect forms. The chonguri and the chianuri belong to far older times, when the difference between plucked and bowed instruments was just beginning to be marked. For, whereas the Georgian tari and the Persian tar have seventeen degrees in an octave, the Georgian

[3]A. L. Maslov: "Illustrated Description of the Musical Instruments in the Dashkov Ethnographical Museum, Moscow." Proceedings of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission, Moscow, 1911. Vol. II, p. 208.

[4]F. W. Galpin. "The Sumerian Harp of Ur," *Music and Letters*, Vol. X, No. 2. April, 1929.

chonguri has a very limited number of frets on its fingerboard which do not give even a complete diatonic scale to the octave.

Passing on to the Georgian wind family, we must first of all remark that of instruments of the flute type there exist at the present day the *saszarapo* (pan-pipes, one of the earliest of wind instruments and now almost extinct), the *ueno salamuri* (a very ancient longitudinal open flute), and the *salamuri* (related to the flûte-à-bec, a very general form). It should be noted that this salamuri is made from a special kind of reed, or even of wood. The method of shaping it from wood provides us with an example of the persistence of tradition in the construction of national musical instruments: in drilling the wooden pipe for the salamuri, the craftsman does not continue the bore to the full width at the lower end, but leaves a small septum (with an opening of reduced diameter) reminding one of the natural septum in the node of the reed from which the salamuri was originally made.

The Georgian instruments of the oboe type comprise the *zurna* and the *duduki*. The former has a conical tube, the latter a cylindrical. The fingering of both is identical, and both are constructed to the scale of the Chinese foot of 276 mm. The zurna (*surnai* in Central Asia, *so-na* in China, etc.) appears to be in general use in the Near and Far East. As for the duduki—the name is derived from a Turkish root—it is common in the Caucasus and Turkey, where it is known as the *mey*. Two dudukis, or two zurnas, and a drum (*dholi*) form an ensemble. Zurna players can also play the duduki. The duduki ensemble performs indoors, the zurna in the open air. Furthermore, the duduki appears to be very closely related to the cylindrical oboes of ancient Egypt, many specimens of which have been unearthed in various excavations.

The only Georgian instrument of the clarinet type is the *stiviri*—a bagpipe—which has been preserved to the present day, chiefly among the Imeretians of the Racha district. No other instrument of the clarinet family is mentioned by investigators of Georgian music, though the writer has seen in the Georgian Museum, Tiflis, a double-reed pipe analogous to the double clarinets of other nationalities and apparently the direct ancestor of the bagpipe.

Besides these instruments the Georgians have the *sakviri* or *sakviri gorototo*—a kind of military trumpet of considerable dimensions, made of wood or metal.

The Georgian percussion instruments consist of the *daira* (a tambourine common in the East), clay kettle-drums (*diplipito*)

similar to the Central Asian *naqqara*, and a drum (*dholi*) having the same name as the Indian drum.[5]

From the foregoing it will be evident that the instruments in use among the Georgians have been acquired in the course of a prolonged period and under various influences. It may be supposed that their nomad forefathers possessed the pan-pipes, which were afterwards developed into the longitudinal open flute and finally into the flûte-à-bec. In the flûte-à-bec and the transverse flute we apparently have the highest types of the reed flute.

The nomads also had a pipe with a reed (from which the bagpipe was evolved), and an instrument of the lute type which seems to have been the ancestor of all the subsequent Georgian instruments belonging to this family.

The flutes of various forms and the pipe with a reed were pastoral instruments and were mainly played in the open air, whereas the primitive Georgian lute was restricted to the family circle, and may be considered an original member of the chamber-music group. It was pre-eminently the instrument of the women, among whom it was in general use, and this fact may be taken as evidence that it was introduced into Georgia during the matriarchy. As the nomad community developed, professional musicians made their appearance and the pipe with a reed underwent a gradual evolution, finally becoming the bagpipe, which enabled the musician not merely to play a melody, but also to sing songs of his own composition echoing the topics of the day or suited to social occasions.

The Georgian harp, whose invention is connected with a considerable advance in civilization, must also be numbered among the common instruments of the Georgians, since to this day historical ballads are sung to its accompaniment—a musical form dating back to feudal times.

The santuri is a still more highly improved instrument (of the dulcimer type) and must therefore be ascribed to a later period. The stringed instruments (bowed and plucked), having originated in the one prototype, naturally formed a combination, to which, in most cases, a percussion instrument—the tambourine—was added. Combinations of this type, consisting of a kemancha or a gidjak, a dutar or a tar, and a tambourine, are characteristic of Central

[5]Here I might mention that even such an authority on instruments as Prof. Curt Sachs in his *Real-Lexicon der Musikinstrumente* either confines himself to general descriptions of Georgian instruments (e.g. he describes the stiviri and the zurna as "Georgian shawms," the chianuri as the "Georgian violin," etc.); or, as in the case of the salamuri, the santuri, and the duduki, the descriptions are incorrect; or, again, he omits any mention of them (the panduri, for instance).

Asia, Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and the Arab colonies of Northern Africa. To this type belongs the *sazandari*—a Caucasian ensemble made up of a kemancha, a tari, a daira, a diplipito, and a singer, who usually plays the daira. To the wind combination—two dudukis or two zurnas and a drum (dholi)—I have already referred. The difference in the composition of these ensembles indicates differences in origin, dependent on the various social purposes for which they were employed. As we shall see later on, the sazandari—a very modern Persian combination—is not characteristic of Georgia, whose national instruments (in the sense that they are used in performing the national music) are, on the one hand, the harp and the surviving stringed instruments of the lute type, and on the other hand, the bagpipe and the duduki.

* *
*

Let us now turn our attention to the Georgian folk-music, and in the first place to the forms associated with the life of the people. Marr's assertion, previously quoted, that in the Caucasus there are very vigorous survivals of primitive forms, is strikingly confirmed among the Georgians by the facts observed in connection with their music. The Georgian musical culture is that of a settled, agricultural people, and in this respect it leaves far behind the most highly developed nomad music of which we have any knowledge. At the same time Georgian music contains a number of religio-musical survivals which have come down from primitive times, and which it is strange to find in conjunction with the satisfactorily high state of civilization attained by the Georgian husbandmen. This branch of Georgian music has received but little attention so far, but a certain amount of material has been collected, mainly by the efforts of D. I. Arakchiev.

In the texts of the Georgian songs we find, first of all, many refrains and words with no definite meaning, such as *delivodelivodeli, ranina da ranina;*[6] *odelia ei-o, ei-o; delis vodelis ei-o;*[7] and so forth; these often make up the entire text of a musical composition. There can be no doubt that their origin dates back to times when the Georgians and their ancestors were Shamanists and attributed an exorcising power to music. Georgian music contains reminiscences of Shamanism in a more tangible form, such as the medicinal songs, concerning one of which Arakchiev writes: "Directly a child sickens with an infectious disease,

[6]Proceedings of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission, Vol. I, p. 141.
[7]*Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 142.

such as smallpox or scarlatina, the patient's family do not say that they have smallpox in the house, but that they have received a visit from the lords, the grandees, i.e., the angels (in Georgian 'batonebi mobdzandnen'), who are believed to bring the disease with them. . . . To appease the angels they decorate the invalid's room with flowers and make a fragrant mass of pounded nuts and sugar, which they burn by way of perfume. They hang bright-coloured stuffs round the room and put trays of sweetmeats on the table. Everyone tries to be merry and a song is intoned."[8] This song is as follows:[9]

Ex. No. 1



The words run thus:

Sleep violets, sleep roses,
Sleep my own dear child,
Roses and violets will I gather,
Thy little cradle will I deck.
Sleep violets, sleep roses.
The grandees have come to us
And have visited the little one.
Seven sisters and seven brothers
Have stood round the little cradle.
Sleep violets, sleep roses.
Around seven villages
Are seven tents of cloth of gold.
Everyone gathers flowers
And decorates the tents,
Sleep violets, sleep roses.[10]

[8]Proceedings of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission, Vol. II, pp. 275-6.

[9]*Op. cit.*, p. 333 (music supplement).

[10]*Op. cit.*, p. 309.

After each line a refrain similar in meaning to the "lullaby" refrain of a cradle-song is repeated.

Although Georgia accepted Christianity in the fourth century, the old heathen customs have persisted. One of them is the national berikaoba festival, described as follows in Serge Amaglobeli's book "The Georgian Theatre":[11] "One man disguises himself as a woman and sometimes dons a woman's mask; a second wears on his head a mask of some animal, generally a pig or an ass, and covers himself with the animal's skin; a third affixes a pair of goat's horns to his head; a fourth takes part in the game without a mask, holding in his hands two wooden daggers and beating one against the other; and a fifth plays the sazandari (a musical instrument). The man and the woman represent a suitor and his betrothed, and the wearer of the goat's horns capers about and urges them to come to close quarters. The berikaoba is manifestly of a sexual character. In this sense it may be compared to the Dionysian cult."

D. I. Arakchiev gives us a description of another such custom, which is really the ritual of the heathen sacrifice, slightly altered under the influence of Christianity and adapted to the feast of St. George. "Every time, on the day before the feast," says Arakchiev, "about five o'clock in the afternoon the assembled crowd, sometimes preceded by mones,[12] make a circuit of the wall of the church, to the singing of two choirs, mostly women. . . . After this, each individual brings to the wall a sheep, a bottle of wine, pastry of various kinds, and money, as an offering to St. George. The deacon then pronounces a prayer and singes the wool on the sheep's forehead with a lighted wax taper. The sheep is led away and slaughtered. Whilst the animals are being purified in this fashion, the men and women in the crowd beyond the wall dance singly to the accompaniment of a dancing-song; some of the women fall into a state of ecstasy and utter menaces of various kinds against their families, or the people of their villages, or the whole Christian world on account of its sins. . . . If we imagine a heathen temple on this very spot, instead of St. George's Church, we shall perceive the vestiges of a heathen festival which was

[11]S. Amaglobeli, "The Georgian Theatre," Moscow, 1930, p. 30.

[12]Persons dedicated to the service of St. George and forming a professional group which has no official recognition. They decide whether the worshippers of their patron shall proceed to the shrine barefooted or shod; they make the wearing of a habit of white calico obligatory; they ordain the wearing of amulets during a definite period; etc. In a word, they represent a survival of the Shaman caste.

accompanied by singing, and these songs evidently formed part of the ceremonies of a heathen cult."[13]

Here is the melody of one of such songs, transcribed by Arakchiev in Kakhetin:[14]

Ex. No. 2



The text is as follows:

Glory to God, glory!
First let us name the name of God
Since He is mightier than all—
Glory to thee, Saint George.[15]

These examples will suffice to show that in Georgian life as well as in its music we have forms which have come down from the remote past. From this point of view we should find much that is interesting, not only in the old heathen songs and tunes of Georgia, but also in the church music, which is evidently of great antiquity. It is usual to ascribe a Byzantine origin to the latter, but this cannot account for the polyphony, which has long been employed in the Georgian cult, whereas the music of the Greek Christian church was unisonal. This contradiction is at once removed if we recognize that the Georgian sacred music is a product of the local musical culture, developed before the Christian era and only afterwards subjected to Byzantine influences. It is generally understood that polyphony in music was invented in Europe, on the basis of certain theoretical forerunners which drew a sharp line between the "natural" unisonal folk-music and

[13]Transactions of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission, Vol. I, pp. 274-5.

[14]*Op. cit.*, p. 333 (music supplement).

[15]Proceedings of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission, p. 309.

the "cultural" polyphonic species. This opinion is radically wrong and should now give place to the very obvious proposition that polyphony came into existence far earlier than the date assigned to it on theoretical grounds by European musicologists, and that Europe did not invent it but acquired it elsewhere in a ready-made form.

* *
*

The material at our disposal concerning Georgian folk-music tells us plainly that here we have to do with the music of an agricultural people, and that it was elaborated from the musical culture of the cattle-raising nomad. We have already pointed out that the strictly pastoral instruments of the Georgians are, in the real sense of the word, survivals, and have not the importance in their music which they enjoyed among the nomads. We must also draw attention to the fact that cattle pure and simple do not form the theme of any of the Georgian songs known to us, although they ought to have been encountered to a greater or less extent. They appear in these songs only as draught animals in connection with agriculture. Here, for example, is the text of "The Song of the Plough," from Arakchiev's "Georgian Music":[16]

The ploughshare said:
"I am always in hell
And am deprived of the sunlight."
The coulter said this:
"Are you any worse off than I?
Thanks to excessive work
My front teeth are broken."
The yoke-rope said this:
"I'm no better off than you:
When it rains I get wet,
When it's hot I burn."
The oxen said this:
"Do you think you're worse off than we?
They put a heavy yoke on us
And the driver sits on top. . . .
The man following the plough
Is very harsh
And doesn't tell the driver
To moderate his cruelty,
And he beats us on the head with a stick
Until the blood runs from our brows."

In this song the oxen are treated merely as accessories of the agricultural machine. Without quoting further examples, we would remark that since the Georgian sings of his domestic animals from this point of view, we naturally look for greater variety in the forms of the purely agricultural songs. And there we find it. The number of these songs is so vast that the student of Georgian folk-music usually classifies them under several heads, such as ploughing songs, digging songs, mowing songs, winnowing songs,

[16]Prof. D. Arakishvili (D. I. Arakchiev). "Georgian Music." (A brief historical survey.) Kutais, 1925, pp. 15, 16.

travelling songs (sung whilst making long journeys in an *arba*—a primitive two-wheeled cart), etc., etc.

Here is a translation of a harvest song:

> I sharpen you, yes I sharpen you, sickle—My iron sickle.
> With a whetstone from Kosur—My iron sickle,
> Will I sharpen you—My iron sickle.
> Go forward and cut—My iron sickle.
> Aralali, aralalo—My iron sickle.[17]

The Georgian agricultural songs are directly connected with a considerable section of their songs of everyday life, especially with those associated with festivals marking the conclusion of various farming operations. The songs of everyday life, as well as the khorovods and dances, are also linked up with the religious ceremonies. The cradle songs, the love songs, and a whole series of songs for such occasions as weddings and funerals, have preserved a connection with the old religious beliefs. In the war, marching, and drinking songs we have interesting survivals of the feudal traditions. The following is a specimen of the text of a drinking song:

> Nothing can restrain death: neither a narrow nor a stony road.
> Death levels all—the weak and the strong of the world alike.
> My brother, my friend! What is better than the friendship between us?
> You will remember me and these words of mine only when two shall fight you single-handed.[18]

There is yet another form which must not be overlooked—the historical songs, which include many of great antiquity.

Our acquaintance with the subject leads us to conclude that a clear and definite line of demarcation exists between the music of the peasant and the traditional music of the nobility. Whereas the peasantry, compelled by historical and economic causes to cling to the old way of life, preserved the real Georgian national music with the peculiar features that have survived from primitive times, the Georgian nobility and a section of the townspeople created an art of their own, differing in many respects from the other; it also was traditional, that is, it was handed down by word of mouth and was widely diffused. It showed traces of foreign influences, most frequently Persian, and owing to it the music of the nobility has in the last few decades fallen into disuse, as its investigators have pointed out, and has been supplanted by European music of the lowest type. It has also led to the

[17] Proceedings of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission, Vol. I, p. 313.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 315.

formation of purely oriental (Persian) ensembles—the sazandari, of which mention has been made—in the towns.

* *
*

How, then, shall we describe the general characteristics of Georgian folk-music? Comparing it with the nomad musical cultures, vocal and instrumental, of which we have any knowledge, and with the so-called "superior" music of the Orient, which has worked out a complete theory of its own, Georgian music must be defined as the music of a settled, agricultural people. It contains the elements of polyphony and strongly-marked forms that have survived from ancient times. It is founded on tradition and lacks a self-developed theoretical basis. Before we can determine in what its peculiar features consist, we must examine a few specimens. Let us take, for instance, the melody of the medicinal song (No. 1 of our musical quotations). Its structure fully satisfies the requirements of an ancient vocal melody, since its fundamental form (the first half) is essentially none other than the dropping of the voice from the fifth to the tonic. The lower voice represents an organ-point on the tonic of its scale, with a transition before the cadence to the leading-note of this scale, forming when it first makes its appearance an interval of a fifth with the upper voice. Reducing the harmonic content of this song to a minimum, we find here a sequence of two fifths—on the tonic (la–mi) and on the leading-note (sol–re)—meeting in unison on the full cadence. The second variant of the melody (the second half of it) is distinguished from the first by the introduction of several ornamental notes, which do not alter its original idea.

For comparison with the primitive vocal duet we may quote an example of the ancient instrumental polyphony, borrowed from the introduction to the melody, "Correspondence between a youth and a maiden," recorded in Georgia by Arakchiev;[19] it is played on the chonguri:

Ex. No. 3



[19]Proceedings of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission. Vol. II. Music supplement after p. 152.

Here we have a specimen of the chord formed by the simultaneous use of a fourth and a fifth, approximating in its style to the purest forms of two-part instrumental folk-music, known to us from V. A. Uspensky's Turkomanian records,[20] and apparently a product of the polyphonic music of the nomads.

Reverting to the Georgian vocal polyphony, we first of all notice that its principles are very peculiar. It is not founded on the combining of the choral parts to form a whole, each part being sung by several voices, but on the addition to the bass part, performed by the entire chorus, of one or two solo parts. Occasionally the two solo voices sing antiphonally, that is, they enter one after the other. It might be thought that the result would be three-part harmony, but such is not the case if the second voice enters after the first has completed its phrase, or if it enters simultaneously with the completion of the phrase but on the same note as the first voice. A three-part harmony can occur only when the second voice enters before the first has finished, but the simultaneous singing would be of very insignificant duration. Example No. 1 quoted above gives us a specimen of a three-part harmony of this kind; essentially the coincidence of all three voices in the eighth bar results in a two-part harmony, since the second solo voice (in respect of pitch and not of the time of entry) completes its phrase in unison with the chorus, whilst the first voice enters on an upper fourth in relation to the chorus and the second solo voice.

The origin of this type of Georgian polyphony may be imagined to be as follows. The choral singing which existed among the Georgians, or even among their ancestors, was at first unisonal. Then the most skilful of the choristers, possessed moreover of a good voice, began to take the liberty of departing from the melody from time to time and decorating its sustained notes with passages and embellishments, which started from and returned to these notes. They thus produced a primitive two-part harmony analogous to the descant of the Middle Ages, using the term in the sense of the embellishing and complicating of a melody during its performance. The rivalry between two exponents of a "descant" of this kind created an original "antiphonal descant" on a choral background, consisting numerically of three parts, but in effect of two only. In their efforts to surpass each other one soloist made his entry without waiting for his rival to finish; at such moments there was a three-part harmony of which the performer's ear became conscious, and subsequently this provided a basis for

[20] V. Uspensky and V. Belaiev. "Turkomanian Music." Moscow, 1928.

a continuous three-part harmony, also to be found in Georgian folk-music. The intervals and harmonies were fixed with the help of musical instruments, but the folk-polyphony is in its essence purely vocal. Just as the fundamental bass melody which serves as a sort of *cantus firmus* in a Georgian polyphonic work originates in the departure of the chorus from and its return to the starting-note of the melody, so the soloist's roulades are the result of his deviation from some sustained note in the choral part. As an example of a satisfactorily developed form of this polyphony we have chosen the following excerpt from an Imeretian drinking song recorded by Arakchiev:[21]

Ex. No. 4



The fundamental intervals upon which the polyphony of this song is built are the octave, the fifth, and the fourth, in relation to its bass. The use of a minor seventh here is explained quite simply: being the sum of two superposed fourths, it limits the diapason of the two so-called combined tetrachords, and therefore is one of those intervals which were determined practically, if not theoretically, in the remote past. The simultaneous chord of a minor seventh and an octave used in Georgian music as often as the simultaneous chord of a fourth and a fifth (see bars 7-9 of Example No. 4), can be described as a three-part harmony resulting from the simultaneous combination of the oldest intervals in folk-music—intervals which are the basis of what is known as the Pythagorean scales, ending with the Turkish 24-degree scale.

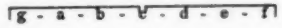
[21] Proceedings of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission. Vol. II. Music supplement after p. 184.

The next Example, also borrowed from Arakchiev,[22] is a Georgian wedding song, five-part in form, but really three-part, since on the choral background there are not two but four soloists, who come forward two at a time:

Ex. No. 5



This song is written on a scale analogous to our major scale with a minor seventh (the ecclesiastical Mixolydian mode), and appears to be a primitive form of the diatonic scale



and therefore the f♯ in the key-signature, inserted by the transcriber, is essentially superfluous. The song has two interesting peculiarities—the first (with which we are already familiar) is the manner of varying the melody on its repetition; the other is the unisonal cadence on the third of the scale, a method requiring more explanation.

Our penultimate illustration is taken from Robert Lach's[23] work and represents a song in continuous three-part harmony:

Ex. No. 6



The peculiar feature of this song is that the top and bottom voices have more or less independent parts, whilst the middle

[22]Proceedings of the Musico-Ethnographical Commission. Vol. I, p. 293 (music supplement).

[23]Dr. Robert Lach. *Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener.* Vienna, 1917, p. 57. (A Mingrelian Song.)

voice fills in the gap between them with chordal notes, following the melodic outlines, now of the upper, now of the lower, voice. In the first six bars it doubles the former in a lower third, but from the seventh bar it follows the bass, at intervals either of an upper fourth or an upper third. The fermata in the ninth bar is on the combination of the consonances of a fifth and a fourth, to which we have previously referred.

Our last Example consists of the first three couplets of a Svanian funeral song, *Zar*, taken down in the village of Ushkul by G. G. Lobachev, and kindly placed at our disposal for this article:

Ex. No. 7



The melody of the upper voice represents a drop from the fifth to the tonic, and the harmony is based on the alternation of two triads separated from each other by a whole tone. Melodically and harmonically this song is closely related to Example No. 1, of whose antiquity we have already spoken.

Here it will not be without interest to quote Lach's opinion (expressed on pp. 22 *et seq.* of his book) that the inhabitants of Western Georgia occupy the foremost position so far as music is concerned, and that from the point of view of musical development the principal Georgian races should be classified as follows—beginning at the bottom of the scale:

1. Thushes and Pshavs;
2. Kakhetians, Kartvellians (Karthalinians), and Svanians;
3. Gurians, Mingrelians, and Imeretians.

The characteristic features of the songs of the Thushes and Pshavs are, according to Lach, their brevity and the small compass of their melodies. In the songs of the Kakhetians, Kartvellians, and Svanians he observes the harmoniousness of the melodies and the clearness of their rhythmical division. Lastly, in the songs of the Gurians, Mingrelians, and Imeretians he finds a resemblance to European songs, considered in their architectonic aspect. Lach's observation of Georgian music cannot, however, be considered sufficiently extensive, nor is it based on material which has been adequately tested from a critical point of view, and therefore we are unable in any instance to accept his conclusions as decisive. We quote him here as one of the latest investigators of the subject.

There can be no doubt that further study of the Georgian polyphony (which, as we hope we have succeeded in showing, dates back to ancient forms) will reveal in the practice of that polyphony many methods characteristic of the various periods of the early European polyphony, and appearing in the European literature dealing with the theory of music under the names of organum, diaphony, descant, fauxbourdon, etc. A comparison of the facts to be ascertained from an investigation of the Georgian and other early folk-polyphonies with the theoretical data of relatively early forms of the so-called art-polyphony of Europe will certainly lead us to conclude that the latter was evolved from the traditional folk-polyphony.

(*Translated by S. W. Pring.*)

HAYDN'S CHAMBER MUSIC AND THE FLUTE

By CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH

(PART II)

(Continued from the July 1933 issue)

An important change in the middle of the 18th century was the gradual abandonment of the figured bass. This was not accomplished consciously or by a sudden revolution. The early monodists interpreted instrumental music as primarily for a treble supported by a bass, with the harpsichord filling in and holding the other instruments together. About 1750, musicians discovered that with a proper distribution of the instruments and an independent four-part writing the *continuo* could be dispensed with: and the modern quartet was ushered in. When the principles of thematic development were adopted, the string-quartet became a new and definite art-form.

Few people today realize that something very helpful in blending the instruments together was lost when the harpsichord was removed from the orchestra; that whereas the 4, 8, and 16 foot stops and couplers gave a full, rich organ-like sonority, and the lute and buff stops dampened the tone to produce pizzicato effects, the double bass, robbed of its support in the orchestra, was left to cope with the mere outline of a part often more barren and peculiar than satisfactory. Tone-color unknown before was achieved, but patient members of the orchestra are sometimes forced to wait hundreds of bars before the composer calls upon them to add their little tint to his palette.

Early composers of the quadro, or quartet, continued to figure the bass, but the *continuo* lasted longest in the orchestra and opera—Haydn, for example, still playing the harpsichord in England when his symphonies were performed. Kretzschmar[35] is of the opinion that all of Haydn's symphonies prior to 1770 require the *continuo*. The recent editions of Breitkopf & Härtel have *continuo* parts, but the complete edition of the symphonies reëdited by Mandyczewski omits the figured bass. This is unfortunate. The editors of the "Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Öster-

[35]Hermann Kretzschmar: *Die Jugendsinfonien Joseph Haydns. Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1908. 15. Jhrg.* Leipzig, 1909, pp. 69-90, especially p. 90.

reich," who give the figured basses in the works of Haydn's early contemporaries, are greatly to be commended.

The early quartets had cassation and symphonic elements; but form-distinctions, as we remarked above, were not so clear then as now. Today it is often difficult to tell when an 18th-century composition requires a "realization" of the bass. If there is an indication such as "con violoncello e basso continuo" or "col basso ossia violoncello," there is no ambiguity; and when the viola doubles the bass, the harpsichord is absolutely essential. Again, if numerous rests occur in the bass part, one can be fairly sure that a 'cello alone is required. Some 18th-century composers made their wishes absolutely clear by writing "violoncello concertante." In general, the *continuo* was obligatory in the '50s, *ad libitum* in the '60s, and displaced by the 'cello in the '70s.

Until 1780, most of the editions published in London and Amsterdam had figures even though the composer had not indicated them, because in musical matters the English and Dutch were more conservative than other Europeans.[36] The problem, we repeat, is not easy to decide. Some unfigured 'cello parts obviously call for support, others which are heavily figured require none. The inner reasons and general treatment are in the last analysis decisive; "wir müssen uns also ans Ohr und ans musikalische Gefühl wenden," says Kretzschmar.[37]

Before the string-quartet had become definitely established, composers liked to experiment, and one of the popular four-part forms included the flute. This instrumentation has been used intermittently until our own day, but in the 1760s and 1770s it was a standard setting, particularly in England. Numerous string-quartets were written for principal flute or violin, and the thematic development of many an early example of this form, considering the flute as an alternate treble, was limited to the range of this instrument; double stops were avoided. The character of the music differed from that of a string-quartet as a water color differs from an oil painting, but it possessed a delicacy and variety quite charming in itself.

[36]The geographical significance in the manner of performing a work does not seem to us to have been sufficiently stressed by Riemann or even by Sandberger in his excellent *Zur Geschichte des Haydn'schen Streichquartetts* in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Musikgeschichte,* Munich, 1921, pp. 224-263.

[37]*Peters Jahrbuch,* 1908, p. 90. The facture of the 'cello part is all-important. "Ist dieselbe durchaus nur fundamentierend gehalten und reich an den für das Cembalo so unentbehrlichen wiederholten Angaben desselben Tones, nimmt sie keinen oder nur geringeren Anteil an den motivischen Imitationen, so wird trotz fehlender Bezifferung die Heranziehung des Cembalo zur Mitwirkung nichts verderben." Riemann: *Mannheimer Kammermusik des 18. Jahrhunderts,* D. d. T. i. B. XV, p. xii.

It is interesting to hear this genre discussed as early as 1740 in Scheibe's *Critischer Musikus*, where it is praised above all other quartet forms; "vornehmlich klingen eine Querflöte, eine Geige, eine Kniegeige (Viola da Gamba), und ein Bass am besten zusammen."[38]

* *
*

We have gone into the quartet and *continuo* question in order to prepare ourselves for the flute quartet. Haydn makes no mention of any flute quartets in his thematic index. We have before us, however:

> Six / Quatuor / A / Flute, Violon, / Alto &c Basse./ Composés / Par / Giuseppe Haydn. / Opera Quinta. / A Amsterdam chez J. J. Hummel, / Marchand & Imprimeur de Musique. / No. 70. Prix f 5.

All these quartets are listed in Breitkopf's thematic index for 1770 (p. 20) but the Hummel plate number would indicate an earlier date of publication, 1767 or 1768. An English edition was issued by R. Bremner, London, early in the 1770s.

Gerber pointed out that the six quartets with flute (Paris, Op. 16) were the same as Op. 5, a statement which Schmidt and Schnerich overlooked; and we do not think there is any reasonable doubt that the two later biographers are mistaken in listing the Paris flute quartets as different works.[39]

It is the first, second, third, and fifth quadros which chiefly concern us.[40] Since Haydn neglected to list any flute quartets in

[38]The passage is worth reading in its entirety, pp. 679, 680.

[39]Leopold Schmidt: *Joseph Haydn*, Berlin, 1898, p. 130, and Alfred Schnerich: *Joseph Haydn*. Zürich, 1926, p. 182.

[40]The *Hauptkatalog* describes No. 4 as "divertimento No. 1 a cinque," but Breitkopf in 1768 lists it among the cassations for flute, oboe, 2 violins, violoncello and violono. In 1770, the Leipzig publisher included it in the set we are discussing: *V [VI] Quattri di Gius. Hayden, a Flauto, Violino, Viola e Basso.* Opera V. Amsterdam.

In the sextet-cassation setting, the initial movement is marked allegro, in the quartet (Op. 5) vivace. The andante moderato of the former employs the first violin to carry the melody while the 'cello pauses; in the flute quartet, the bass plays along with the other instruments. As a cassation the music is interesting for 20 odd measures of flute, oboe, and violin cadenza, followed by a short tutti bringing the piece to a close. The cadenza is not included in the quartet. The trio of the minuet which is a 'cello solo in the sextet setting, becomes a violin solo in Op. 5. The strings accompany pizzicato, the flute staccato.

Pohl had little use for the last movement—variations on a theme entitled *La Fantasia* (by the publisher?). The bass, basso ostinato, accompanies each of the five variations (the cassatio version has six). Variation I is for violin and bass, II for viola and bass, III for violin and bass again, IV for flute and bass, and V for viola and bass. The flute variation is well written for the instrument, the skips ranging from low D

his catalogue, the pieces must be judged on internal evidence. We have been unable to locate any of the themes in other works of Haydn, but it is more than likely that a movement or two may turn up. The thematic indices will help in identifying them:

Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5 of Six Quatuor

à Flûte, Violon, Alto & Basse

No. 1

Composés par Giuseppe Hayden [Op. 5, Unidentified]



No. 2



to high G. The music is light but attractive and not so empty in our opinion as Pohl considered it. A harpsichord is a welcome addition to the solo variations. The opening theme is given by Pohl, I, p. 324.

Flute quartet No. 6 underwent an even greater metamorphosis. Haydn listed it in the *Entwurf-* and *Hauptkataloge* as "Divertimento No. 11 á sei," and in 1767 Breitkopf gave it as No. 5 of VI Divertimenti for 2 violins, flute, oboe, 'cello and bass. There are five movements. The theme of the initial presto is found in Pohl, I, p. 321.

The final movement, *Fanthasie moderato*, was used, in the second part of the 14th (A major) symphony composed prior to 1764, transposed to D major; and a C major version entitled *Andante con 8 variazioni* was employed as the finale of the divertimento *Der Geburtstag*. The opening presto, the andante moderato (also known as *Mann und Weib*) and the minuetto were likewise included in this cassation. The *Fanthasie* was transposed to D major and, following the symphony version, printed in Hiller's "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" as No. 32 for piano solo. (Leipzig, 1767.) In 1770, Breitkopf advertised the piece in the flute-quartet form which we know, and in 1785-87 it appeared as a sonata for piano with violin accompaniment, *chez* André in Offenbach (No. 3 of "Sonate da J. Haydn a Cembalo. La Première et la troisième sont avec accompagnement de Violon [ad libitum]," Op. 41).

Other early versions for violin and piano were brought out by Le Duc, Paris; Cahier XII of the early Œuvres Complètes (1806) retains it as Sonata VI with violin

No. 3



No. 5



The flute-quartets, or four-part divertimenti, are much like the first twelve string-quartets which were listed as quadri, cas-

accompaniment. Peters and other publishers continue to include it as No. 6 of the sonatas for violin and piano. Finally in 1920 the editors of the complete works published the piece as a piano sonata (No. 15) but, in view of Haydn's catalogue and Pohl's discussion, we cannot subscribe to this version. Hermann Keller, dating the music prior to 1764, confirms us in declaring the piano version to be an arrangement of the instrumental divertimento. (Hermann Keller: *Zur Chronologie der Haydn'schen Klaviersonaten. . . .* Neue Musik-Zeitung, 49. Jahrgang, Heft 24, p. 764.)

As in quartet No. 4 of Op. 5, there are several differences between the sextet and quartet versions. The minuet-trio of the former turns from a 'cello into a viola solo, and two variations are omitted from the quartet. Both the flute and violin play the theme in octaves, a favorite device of the composer and a habit probably derived from the stops of the harpsichord; there is no doubt that Haydn realized the effectiveness of his action—that his simplification is conscious art and not lack of imagination. The bass, as in most of the variations of the middle '50s, is ostinato. Variation I is given to the viola alone, II to the flute, III to the violin, IV is again for flute and bass, V for violin and bass, VI for flute, viola, and bass.

Both the quartet and sextet versions have the Andante moderato or *Mann und Weib* movement, omitted in the sonata, set for two voices, the flute and violin moving in octaves except toward the very end. Pohl thought highly of this movement: "eine wundervolle Grille, mit der Haydn der Überschrift nach wohl die Harmonie in der Ehe zu schildern beabsichtigte. Eitler Traum! Statt des gehofften Glücks sollte er in der Praxis das grade Gegentheil kennen lernen." (I, p. 322.)

The Op. 5 setting for flute, violin, viola and 'cello of *Mann und Weib, oder Der Geburtstag* has recently been republished by P. J. Tonger, Cologne, edited by H. Lemacher and P. Mies.

sations, symphonies, divertimenti or *quatuors dialogués* when first advertised. The pieces usually begin and end by a presto with elaborate arioso adagios and spirited minuets sandwiched in between. There is only one minuet in each of the published editions of Op. V, always after the adagio; but manuscript parts of No. 3 in the Library of Congress contain an extra minuet before the customary slow movement.[41] Since we know that No. 6 originally had five movements, a minuet being suppressed in the printed quartet editions, and that Haydn generally elected the five-movement form for his earliest divertimenti, it is not unlikely that Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 also had an extra movement. Furthermore, they may not have been written expressly for flute, violin, viola and bass, more especially as Haydn's catalogue lists Quartets 4 and 6 in different versions.

Turning to the first quartet of Op. V, it is interesting to note passages for viola solo (trio of the minuet) which look as if they had been written originally for horn. The theme in question is almost a quotation from Haydn's Op. 2, No. 3, Menuetto II, Variation I, which we know to have been a sextet with two horns before it became a string-quartet.[42] The points of contact between Op. 5 and Op. 2 are numerous. For example, the opening prestos of the fifth quartets in each work are surprising and lead to the conclusion that the two must have been composed about the same time, roughly speaking in the middle '50s. Again the cheerful 6-8 presto of No. 1 is not unlike the C major presto of Op. I, No. 6 or the presto of Op. 2, No. 4.

In general the adagios derive from C. P. E. Bach and the Mannheim school and are a mixture of sentimental "Seufzer" and "Sturm und Drang" romanticism. Elaborate and earnest, they are sometimes too involved, but those of the second and third quartets are exceptionally noble and beautiful. The popular cassation element cannot be overemphasized in discussing Op. V; many of the movements sound like Ländlers. Characteristic are

[41]The title page reads: *Divertimento* [a] *Flauto Traverso, Violino, Viola Violoncello—Del Singor* [sic] *Jusepho Heyden.* The 'cello part is unfigured. There is a slight difference between the manuscript and the printed parts, for example the initial presto is four bars longer in the Mss., but the character is unchanged.

In *Otto Jahn's Versteigerung* on April 4th, 1870, No. 1654 (p. 68), was described as a *Quadro G dur für Flöte, Violine, Viola und Bass. Part. in Abschrift, gr. 8. H1.* This may be No. 2 of Op. 5.

[42]Pohl, II, pp. 338, 339, and Donald Tovey's article on Haydn in Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music. Vol. I, p. 520. Interesting analogies might be drawn from the remarkable quartet-divertimenti of the Austrian composer Joseph Starzer (published in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich,* Jhrg. XV), which show Starzer to have been a master of the quartet form even before Haydn, and a worthy colleague of the Esterhazy Kapellmeister.

the repeated triplets to accompany a melody—a device used by the composer in many of the early quartets and also in the *The Seven Words of the Cross*[43]—hunting rhythms and syncopated breaks in the minuets, sudden piano phrases after fortes, Austrian *Volkstümlichkeit*, and noble minuets based on the simplest folk-melodies—all are here in full measure. The rhythmic divisions, the pattern of 32nd and 64th notes in the flute-quartet adagios are so typically Haydn that we need only compare these passages with the second quartet of the "Seasons," or the adagios of Op. 2, Nos. 3 and 6, and it will be clear that they could only have been written by one and the same person.

The prestos are particularly gay, with all four voices used independently. The flute and violin echo one another in sprightly fashion, accompanied by the viola and bass. None of the quartets are flute solos; they are divertimenti in which the flute takes part. Technically the music offers few difficulties, but the adagios are complex and more studied and elaborate than Op. 31 or the 7 *Nocturnes*. There is little or nothing in the wind-instrument part which could not be played equally well on the violin. But by the use of the flute the expressive adagios and syncopated minuets are given a tenderness and brilliance, characteristic of the 18th-century *Zeitgeist*.

After all, the flute and the 18th century go hand in glove. The instrument was played in taverns, by shepherds and all those who had any connection with folk-music. Yet it was also the favorite instrument of the bourgeoisie and of royalty. The great Frederick himself patronized it, the Margrave of Baden was an able performer, and Lord Abingdon, one of Haydn's most intimate acquaintances in England, was noted for his playing of it. Thus the music best suited to the instrument had to combine popular qualities with formal grace and natural elegance. This is exactly what Haydn's music did, and it was as happy a marriage between the stylized and the carefree as we know.

The dynamic balance of Op. 5 is satisfactorily rendered by four instruments, but a discreet employment of the harpsichord adds depth and richness to some of the movements. The rôle of the bass in these early quadri or divertimenti is similar to that in the symphonies. Even in Haydn's earliest quartets, the *continuo* is not "obligato" although some of the progressions sound bare without it.[44]

[43] See for example the seventh Adagio.

[44] Dr. Karl Geiringer, in his recent edition of the *Divertimento* in *E flat major* (which was No. 1 of the Hummel, Amsterdam, *Six Quatuors a Deux Violons, Taille et Basse*

Gerber, Schmidt, and Schnerich speak of an Opus 25:

> Six / Quartetto / Concertant / Per Flauto, Violino, Alto Violonchello et le sixieme avec Cimbalo, ô Harpa. / Dal Signor / Hayden, / Maître de Musique, de Chapelle, à Vienne. / Œuvre XXV. / Prix 9th. / A Paris / Chez Melle Girard, Mde de Musique, rue du Roule, à la Nouveauté. / Chez les Marchands de Musique de Province. / A. P. D. R. / Ecrit par Ribiere.

A harp-quartet by Haydn sounds promising, but unfortunately neither the sixth nor the other five preceding pieces are by "the father of instrumental music." Joseph Alois Schmittbauer is the author of these quartets, as several contemporary editions prove beyond the shadow of a doubt; Breitkopf's thematic catalogue for 1774 confirms us by assigning the compositions to him.[45]

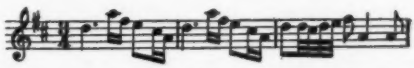
Six Quartetto Concertant, etc.

Del Signor Hayden [Spurious– by Schmittbauer]



Obligés Op. 1), omits the figured bass which the Longman & Broderip, Bremner, and Preston issues printed. This may only have been an English and Dutch idiosyncrasy, but when the figures are there, no matter from what edition one republishes them, they should be given. As Sandberger pointed out, the indication of the *continuo* is of considerable importance and interest. Miss Marion Scott in her edition of the E-flat major piece, which she calls Haydn's first quartet, Op. 1, No. 1 (Oxford University Press, 1931), quite rightly adds the figured *continuo*.

While this article was in press, a Divertimento in D came to light in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. The instrumentation is *a: Flauto Traverso Unisono, Violino Concertanto Viola di Alto Oblig: con Basso* and a note states "Auf den Stimmen: Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn 1766. . . . Nach Stimmen in Verein (6718 R) al uso di Ant. Schaarschmidt 1767." Unfortunately there has been no opportunity to examine the score. The opening theme follows.



[45]Breitkopf's index reads: *VI Quattri da M. J. Schmitbaur, a Flauto, 2 Viol. e B. Op. 1.* Mannheim (p. 24).

Joseph Alois Schmittbauer (1718-1809), a pupil of Jomelli at Stuttgart, in 1776 became *Kapellmeister* to the Margrave Grand-Duke of Baden in Karlsruhe; his religious



Eitner gives the title—though it must be incorrectly copied—of the original Mannheim issue from which the Paris version probably derived:

> Six Quatuors pour une Flûte, d'une (sic) Violon e Violoncello. Ded. Charles Frederick de Baden, Composés par M. Jos. . . [Alois Schmittbauer] Maître de Chapelle, au service du même Souverain. Œuvre I. A Mannheim chez le Sr. Götz . . Carlsruhe, chez l'auteur, à Offenbach chez J. André.

The order of the pieces is slightly changed. Numbers 2, 3, and 4 of the Götz edition are 1, 2, and 3 of the Paris publication. Number 1 is quartet 4; numbers 5 and 6 are the same in both. The viola is written in the treble clef throughout and is really a second violin part. The date of the Paris publication must be about 1776 and Haydn's name either a fabrication of Mlle. Girard or a misrepresentation by Tost—who, it will be remembered, sold spurious Haydn compositions to Paris publishers in the '80s—or some other itinerant central-European musician.

Number 6 with "cimbalo ô harpa" was published as the first of:

> Quatre / Quatuors / Pour le / Clavecin ou Piano Forte / Accompagnés d'une Flute, Violon et /

music was much admired. He invented the Glass Harmonica, and taught the blind Marianne Kirchgäsner, for whom Mozart wrote a Harmonica adagio and rondo (Köchel 617), to play the instrument.

Schmittbauer was variously criticized by his contemporaries. Karl Ludwig Junker, writing in 1776, said of his chamber music: "Seine Quartetten sind Vermischung von Tändeley, Rührung, und Munterkeit!" (*Zwanzig Componisten; eine Skizze von Carl Ludwig Junker.* Bern, 1776? p. 88.) Daniel Schubart, a few years later, was less enthusiastic: "Dieser Meister hat auch sehr viel im Kammerstyle gearbeitet, immer gut und hörbar; und in Jomellis Manier, dessen Schüler er war; doch niemals sonderlich hervorstehend. Die Ursache mag vielleicht unter andern diese seyn, weil er in keinem Instrument Meister ist, sondern nur die Oberfläche von ihnen berühret, oder wie Rousseau sagt: nur die Spitzen der Töne pflückte." (*Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst. Herausgegeben von Ludwig Schubart.* Wien, 1806, p. 271.)

> Violoncelle. / Composés / Par / Mr. Schmittbauer. / Maître de Chappelle &c. / Œuvre Première. / Chez J. J. Hummel, à Berlin avec Privilège du Roi; / à Amsterdam au Grand Magazin de Musique et aux / Adresses Ordinaires. / No. 486 Prix f. 4.

Even the designation of the harp, therefore, is a Paris fabrication, and Schmittbauer merely intended the piece for harpsichord or piano. The last three numbers of this set also appeared as:

> Trois / Quartetts / Composés / Par / Mr. Schmittbaur / Maître de Chapelle de Baade / pour le / Clavecin ou Forte-Piano, / avec l'accompagnement d'un Violon, Flute & Basse. / Œuvre I / à Spire / chez Bossler Conseiller de Brandet / & aux Adresses ordinaires. / No. 5. Prix I f. 30 x.[46]

Eitner is wrong in assuming that the "Quatre Quatuors" and the "Trois Quartetts" are republications of the "Six Quatuors." One of them is, the rest are not.[47]

It is hard to believe that Gerber, Schmidt, or Schnerich ever saw these quartets which have so little to identify them with Haydn's style. A passage from the andante molto of No. 6 of the Paris edition, as "barber-shop" a bit as one could find nowadays, should settle the point:[48]



* * *

[46]Breitkopf announced the "Trois Quartetts" in the catalogue of 1781, p. 52. There are copies of the Hummel and Bossler editions in the Library of Congress. A reviewer of the latter in Reichardt and Kunzen's *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, 1792, p. 101, was not favorably impressed: "Quartetten sind das? Ja wohl, es spielen ja ihrer Viere daran; und ich wette mit Ihnen, gestrenger Herr Kritiker, dass die meisten Liebhaber sie mit mehr Vergnügen spielen werden, als alle ihre alten wohlgearbeiteten Quartetten—Ja leider!"

No. 1 of the Götz edition (4 of the spurious Haydn issue) is discussed by Dr. Wilhelm Altmann in his *Handbuch für Streichquartettspieler, Bd. IV, Werke für Streicher und Bläser*, Berlin, 1931, p. 24.

[47]Schmittbauer's name is mentioned frequently in Breitkopf's catalogue. In 1778 and 1782, bassoon concerti were advertised; in 1781 a violin concerto, an oboe concerto and a trio for oboe, violin, and bass. A horn concerto was listed for the next year while, in 1785, 3 trios for 2 flutes and bass and Op. III, "3 Quatuors, deux à Flûte, Violon, Alto et Basse, et un à Flûte, Deux Violons et Basse, Chez Artaria & Compag: Vienne," are found.

[48]A number of Haydn's string quartets were also arranged as flute quartets by contemporary editors. Simrock brought out Op. 106: "Sechs Quartette für Flöte,

Op. V is the most important work with flute written in the transitional years of Haydn's career. We have discussed the large divertimenti, the transcribed baryton concertini, and the notturni. The "Divertimenti à tre il pariton, viola e violoncello" were also a source for a number of remade flute trios.

It is possible that some of the baryton divertimenti may have been transcribed from earlier string or wind trios, as Haydn wrote nothing for Prince Nicolas's instrument before 1762. On the other hand, when the *Entwurfkatalog* indicates that Haydn wrote a composition originally for baryton, viola, and violoncello and there is an autograph of it for violin, viola, and bass in the Berlin State Library, one is puzzled. We are inclined to put more faith in the catalogue than in the autograph and to believe that the string trio is an arrangement by the author.

Of the early works listed by Haydn as baryton divertimenti, five circulated in a number of settings. These are the *Hauptkatalog* Numbers 6, 7, 9, 11 and 17. It has been said that they were originally written for strings and then transcribed for baryton.

In 1769, Nos. 6 and 7 were announced by Breitkopf, the former as a trio "a flauto, violino e basso," the latter "a flauto, viola e basso," and both transposed from A to G. About 1771 the two trios reappeared with Nos. 9, 11, and 17 among:

> Six / Sonatas / A Flûte, Violon / & Violoncello. / Composées / Par / Giuseppe Haydn. / Œuvre XI / A Amsterdam chez J. J. Hummel. / Au Grand Magazin / de Musique. / No. 248 Prix f. 3.[49]

The remaining sonata of this Op. 11 was not taken from the baryton trios but from the *Divertimenti auf verschiedene Instrumenten*

Violine, Viola und Violoncell" in 1807 (taken from Op. 75 and 76), and Traeg announced "24 Quartetten mit einer Flöte in 1799. In the same year three flute-quartets were issued by Pleyel, in Paris, as Op. IV, a reviewer in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* observing: "Bedürfen weiter keiner Empfehlung, da schon der Name des grossen Haydn für die Vortrefflichkeit der Arbeit bürgt. Rec. bemerkt nur, dass diese Quartetten nicht neu, sondern schon als Violin-quartetten vor mehrern Jahren erschienen sind." Feb. 27, p. 343.

Hugo Riemann has an interesting contribution to make to this problem: "Die Besetzung des Primparts im Quartett mit einer Flöte erfreute sich um 1760-1780 sehr grosser Beliebtheit (wir finden sie auch bei Joseph Toëschi, Cannabich und Eichner) musste aber dann allmählich dem reinen Streichquartett den Vorzug lassen. Doch erschienen Flöten-quartette noch über 1800 hinaus in Menge, und selbst Haydns und Mozarts Streichquartette kamen für Flöte als Priminstrument arrangiert von Hugot, Hoffmeister, Fürstenau u. a. auf den Markt." *D. d. T. in B.*, Vol. 15, p. xiv.

[49]The title-page is given in Walter von Zur Westen's: *Musiktitel aus vier Jahrhunderten. Festschrift anlässlich des 75. jährigen Bestehens der Firma C. G. Röder G. M. B. H.* Leipzig, 1921, Plate No. 54.

theils 5, 6, 7, 8 u. neunstimmig (No. 9 à sei), beginning with the adagio.[50] Breitkopf announced No. 17 of Haydn's catalogue as a trio for violoncello, viola, and basso (1772, p. 23), but on p. 27 of the same publisher's catalogue, the Amsterdam sonatas are changed to: "VI Trii di Gius. Hayden a 2 Flauti, e Basso, Op. XI. Amst."

What was the original form of these pieces? They are to be found for principal baryton, 'cello, violin or flute, with second violin, flute or viola (the bass remaining the same throughout) —practically *ad libitum*. Gerber spoke of them as "VI Trios f. Fl. V. und B." and mentioned besides a London edition which we have not seen,[51] but this does not bring us any nearer the truth. The solution is baffling and until we learn more about Haydn's business connections with Hummel, we must be content to believe the *Hauptkatalog*, and call the pieces baryton divertimenti. Musically the trios are gracious and simple, but we are unable to see that they show Haydn to have been particularly "in sympathy with the soul of the flute."

There were other transcribed baryton pieces. For example:

> Trois / Divertissemens / Dont les deux Premiers pour un Premier Violon / ou Flute, un second Violon et Basse, le Troisieme / pour un Premier Violon, ou Flute, un Alto, et Basse. / Composés / Par / Giuseppe Hayden / Prix 3 th. / Gravés par Gerardin / A Paris / Chez Le Sr. Le Menu Auteur Editeur et Marchand de Musique de Madame la Dauphine rue du Roule à la Clef d'Or. / Et aux Adresses Ordinaires de Musique / à Lyon, à Toulouse, à Rouen, et à Dunkerque, / A P D R.

These trios were published in Paris about 1772. The second and third are taken from the "Divertimenti à tre per il pariton, viola e violoncello," Nos. 35 and 21, which would place the date of composition about 1766. The first of the divertissements remains a moot point, although it is probably genuine and may be

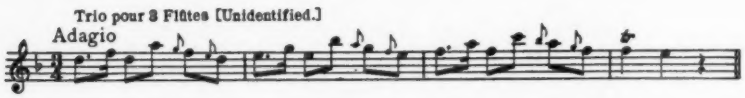
[50]See Part I of this article, in the July 1933 issue of THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY, p. 346. This piece was also published about 1767 as a symphony for five instruments by La Chevardière, Paris (Op. 4, No. 2). Breitkopf lists it in 1768 as a cassation, and Perger assigns the work to Michael Haydn.

[51]In his *Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1812, II, p. 580). The contradiction survives to our own day. Artaria's *Verzeichnis* of 1893, No. 57, makes mention of "6 Divertimenti a 3 per Flauto, Viola e Basso" (perhaps a version of Op. XI!), but the auction catalogue of Dr. Erich Prieger's music collection, Part III, in speaking of the "Haydn'scher Trios angefertigt nach Stimmen in der Sammlung Artaria," Nos. 56-58 lists "6 Divertimenti f. Flöte, Viol. [this can only mean violin] Basso," p. 26.

a baryton piece not listed by Elssler.[52] Again the music is charming, if not profound, but it cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called characteristic for the flute. The alternative nomenclature is practical from the publisher's point of view, but musically there seems little justification for the use of the viola one time and the violin the next.

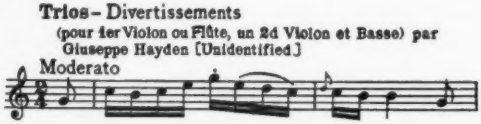
Still another set deriving from the baryton trios, but even more mangled, is: "Trois Divertissements d'Haydn pour trois flûtes," Nos. 67-69 in the volumes acquired from the Picquot collection by the Library of Congress.[53] They are lettered "Trios inédits" and it is just as well they should remain so. Three treble voices are at best a debatable form, but when two of them are playing parts originally written for instruments with a register such as that of the baryton and violoncello, the results are not happy. It is hard to believe that Haydn set this version himself even at the urgent instigation of Austrian amateur flutists.[54]

The first and second of the trios for three flutes are Nos. 82 and 116 of the "divertimenti per il pariton, viola e violoncello" set down by Elssler. They were composed about 1770. We have been unable to locate No. 3; whoever wrote it knew very little about flutes. The extreme range of the soprano part is high F, but in general all three voices cross one another continually in the middle register.



A third trio which we have failed to identify is given in Breitkopf's thematic catalogue for 1768 (p. 22). It may be original.

[52]Another edition of these trios was published by J. van den Berghen, Brussels. There is a copy in the British Museum.

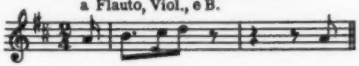


[53]The class-mark of this MS. is M. 351, A2 H 43. For a discussion of the Picquot collection, see the article by W. Oliver Strunk in the April 1932 issue of THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY.

[54]There was a copy of these trios in Artaria's collection in 1893: *Verzeichnis von musikalischen Autographen, revidirten Abschriften und einigen seltenen gedruckten Original-Ausgaben, etc.* Vienna, 1893, p. 6, No. 56. According to Gerber, the publisher Traeg advertised trios for three flutes in 1799 (*Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 1812, II, p. 580).

Judging by the opening measures, however, there is little to expect in the way of interesting flute treatment.[55]

Trio di Hayden [Doubtful]
a Flauto, Viol., e B.



Finally a fourth lot of the smaller baryton divertimenti was transcribed for "flauto principale." In March, 1804, the "Intelligenz-Blätter zur allgemeinen musikalischen Zeitung" announced "6 trios pour flûte, violon et violoncelle. Simrock 360." All are transposed into different keys and correspond to Elssler's numbers: 109, 118, 100, 82, 103, and 110 respectively. The date of composition is between 1770 and 1772. These trios[56] are superior musically to Op. 11 but again there is little likelihood of their having been turned into flute divertimenti with the composer's sanction.

* *
*

Haydn's greatest works were composed late in life, and it was the contact with England which apparently stimulated him. In the early '80s, he entered into relations with the English dealer and violin maker, William Forster, to whom he sold over 120 works. The English, we repeat, were extremely partial to the flute.

In the British Museum there are parts in the hand of Haydn's amanuensis, J. Radnitzky, entitled: "Sei Divertimenti a tre, Violino I^{mo} o Flauto Traver[so], Violino 2do, e Violoncello," signed "de me Giuseppe Haydn [1] 784." In Haydn's acquittance to Forster for the price of copyrighting these divertimenti, the pieces are described as "Trios à 2 Flutes traversières et Violoncello," and the opening bars are given. A note in the composer's handwriting states that they were sent to William Forster for publication May 31st, 1784."[57]

[55]Possibly this trio is the "Divertimento voor fluit, viool en piano" played in Amsterdam last autumn. Paul F. Sanders, critic to *De Muziek*, was not impressed, calling it a work that "voor ons niet boven de historische waarde uitkomen." *Jaargang VI.* Dec. 1931, No. 1, p. 132.

[56]Hofmeister announced them "chez Simrock" in 1817, 1824, and 1844. In 1903, Rudolf Tillmetz edited a transcription of the set for flute and piano. There is a copy of Simrock 360 in the Sibley Library at Rochester.

[57]Egerton MS. 2379, ff. 125-148, and Egerton 2320, f. 12. See the "Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum" by Augustus Hughes-Hughes. Vol. III. London, 1909, pp, 198 and 350. The themes and the letter given in W. Sandys' and S. A. Forster's "History of the Violin," London, 1864, pp. 302-306.

Once more we run into contradictions. Radnitzky calls them trios for 2 violins or flute, violin and 'cello. Haydn designates them as pieces for 2 flutes and 'cello. Be that as it may, the composer is definitely writing for the flute and the English market. Likely enough Op. 11, the "trois divertissemens," and the unidentified trio circulated in alternate forms for the flute with the composer's tacit assent; but the Forster divertimenti are the first trios we know of originally composed for the instrument.

Even at that, Haydn compromised. Trio No. 4 is transcribed from a baryton piece (Elssler 97), transposed from D to G, but without the allegro di molto, the minuetto, the polonese, and one adagio. The work was apparently a favorite with the author; it was first composed for Prince Nicolas Esterházy's birthday.

Forster printed these divertimenti as Op. 38 and entitled them: "Six Trios for two Violins or a German Flute. . . ."[58] The date of publication is either 1784 or 1785. Later they came to be known as Op. 100 and were brought out in numerous editions. We note among others, a Paris issue, 1806 (after Gerber), one of Traeg, Vienna; Spehr, Braunschweig (Hofmeister 1817); also Bachmann, Hanover (Hofmeister 1844). These trios are comparatively well known today owing to Zimmermann's reissue edited by Richard Dittrich in 1926. We are particularly fond of the little 6/8 adagio of the second divertissement, but the other numbers do not fulfill the expectations one might have of Haydn in his fifty-third year.

About 1790, the music publisher Bland of London—who had visited Haydn at Esterház on Salomon's suggestion—published three trios for flute, 'cello, and piano or harpsichord in "Le Tout-Ensemble. . . ." The advertisement states that the trios were "wrote at the particular request of the Publisher, when he was with Mr. Haydn in Novr. last [1789]."[59]

[58]The full title is not given in the British Museum catalogue.

[59]According to the "Catalogue of Printed Music" in the British Museum, Vol. I, p. 615, the title reads: "J. Haydn's First (—Third) Trio for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, German Flute & Violoncello. (Op. 59!) J. Bland, Londres," 3 Nos. fol. The trios are Nos. 12-14 of Le Tout-Ensemble.

Artaria issued them about the same time, the Opus Nos. in Vienna being 62, 63, and 68—plate Nos. 329, 330, and 340. The first two appeared late in the autumn of 1790, the last in September, 1792. Cf. Artaria & Botstiber: *Joseph Haydn und das Verlagshaus Artaria*, Vienna, 1909, p. 96, Nos. 57, 58, and 62.

Hummel of Berlin was not slow to follow. In 1791, he announced "Op. 34, II Son. aus D. G. mit Fl. und B. Klavier."

The *Œuvres Complettes, Cahier V, No. 5*, contained No. 12 of the Bland issue, and before the turn of the century, editions were published in Mannheim and Offenbach as Op. 67.

During the course of the 19th century, these trios came to be listed as Nos. 30, 31, and 29 in most of the standard editions of Haydn's piano trios.

The piano trios are a good deal like the works of Schobert, the 'cello playing a distinctly minor rôle. They are sometimes spoken of as sonatas for piano "mit Begleitung einer Violine," and even Haydn in his letters to Artaria referred to them as such. Some of the composer's finest forms and most trenchant ideas, however, went into the piano trios, and though they are imperfect as three-part works, the piano often doubling the violin, they contain some splendid music.

Gerber was a great admirer of Haydn's trios for flute, 'cello, and piano. "Ingenuity, fancy, modulation, etc., show Haydn's unmistakable genius in these pieces [the D and G major trios]. Nevertheless, there are certain characteristics which distinguish them from his other piano trios. The flute is obligato and for that reason, at least in the Hummel edition, placed above the piano part. At the same time, there is something in the development of the figures, which gives the music a hardness scarcely typical of Haydn. It is this that makes the sonatas, which appear so easy at first, harder to perform than most of Haydn's later piano works. Some people even suspected at first that these trios were compositions of Michael Haydn, many of whose pieces, it is said, are found among Joseph's works."[60]

The famous lexicographer's fears are unfounded: the flute and piano trios are unquestionably by Joseph Haydn and we do not hesitate to call them the finest chamber-music pieces with flute that the composer wrote. Gerber also admired the F major trio, "worthy of Haydn and yet not difficult."

In 1790 Haydn despatched one of these pieces to Frau von Genziger in Vienna, remarking: "I take the liberty of sending you a new pianoforte sonata with violin or flute, not as anything at all remarkable, but as a trifling resource in case of any great *ennui*. I only beg that you will have it copied out as soon as possible, and then return it to me."[61] We subscribe heartily to the composer's dictum. These trios are his sincerest and most natural chamber-music productions for the flute, calculated not for reflection but for refreshment.

Among the authentic wind-instrument pieces are a number of trios for two flutes and 'cello, composed while Haydn was in London in 1794; the autograph is in the Berlin State Library. The first two are in C, the third in G. Once again, the English interest in flute music displays itself.

[60] *Tonkünstler Lexicon*, 1812, II, p. 585.

[61] Karajan, *Haydn in London*. Vienna, 1861, p. 77.

The first edition of these pieces is unusually helpful, for it tells us about the circumstances of their composition:

> Two / Original Trios / For Two German Flutes / , and a / Violoncello, / composed / while in England / By Dr. Haydn. / Entd at Sts Hall. . . Price 4 s / London / Printed for Monzani & Co., Music Sellers / To His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales / No. 3 Old Bond St. & 100 Cheapside.[62]

At the bottom of the second page, Trio I, we find the following notice: "This Trio was Composed for Sir Willoughby Aston Bart, who Generously gave it to Mr. Monzani for Publication." On page four, Trio II, we read: "This Trio was Composed for the Earl of Abingdon who generously gave it to Mr. Monzani for Publication." Of Lord Abingdon, the musical Mæcenas of London and patron of the Professional Concerts, Haydn's diary makes frequent mention. Sir Willoughby Aston was a friend of Abingdon; it will be remembered that in his diary Haydn mentions going to Preston (near Hitchin in Hatfordshire) with Lord Abingdon to visit Sir Willoughby. "Er und seine Gemahlin lieben die Musik," was his comment.[63]

Prof. Kopfermann praises the second trio in C major: "Here one finds the masterly facture, the pleasant pensiveness, and the good humour with which the immortal master always captivates sensitive hearts. The work has a singular charm on account of its rhythmic pattern: after two five-measure phrases, there follows a four-measure postlude. One is reminded of Haydn's choral St. Anthony, the five-measure phrases of which inspired Johannes Brahms to write his orchestral variations Op. 56."[64]

The third trio, in G, was not published during the last century, but its authenticity is unquestioned since Haydn included it in the *Hauptkatalog* and the manuscript in the Berlin State Library,

[62]There is a copy of the Monzani edition in the Dayton C. Miller collection, a photostat of which we have been able to consult, through the kindness of the owner.

[63]Another edition was published by Clementi:

> Two / Original Trios / for / Two German Flutes /, and a / Violoncello, / Composed / By / Haydn / Pr. 4 s / London, Printed by Clementi & Co. 26, Cheapside. /

This is apparently a reprint of Monzani. Artaria lists: "Deux Trios originaux pour 2 Flûtes et Basse," published in May, 1805, undoubtedly the same pieces. Cf. *Verzeichnis der erschienenen Compositionen Haydns* in *Joseph Haydn und das Verlagshaus Artaria*, by Franz Artaria and Hugo Botstiber, Vienna, 1900, p. 100. Cf. Botstiber, III, p. 83.

[64]*Die Musik*, VIII, Jahr. 1908-1909, *Haydn-Heft*, in which this trio was republished. Botstiber is measured in his praise: "gefällige kleine, spielgerechte Stücke, von denen man der Kuriosität halber eines oder das andere einmal aufführen könnte." III, p. 137.

is dated London, 1794. Perhaps it was written for an English lord more chary about giving it to publishers than Abingdon or Aston. Oddly enough, in the list of compositions written in England, Haydn only speaks of "Zwey Divertimenti für die Flöte (10 Blätter)" and Artaria published but two. The fourth Trio is nothing but an allegro in G major preserved in a contemporary copy. Haydn does not list it among the flute trios and it may possibly be part of a transcribed baryton piece. It might also be interpreted as an alternate or supplementary movement to Trio No. III.[65]

The trios for 2 flutes and 'cello are less convincing than the piano trios although they mark an advance from a technical point of view over Op. 11. Conservatory students would do well to play them rather than the vapid effusions of Kummer and Berbiguier.

One final word about the miscellaneous flute pieces. The "Gioco Filarmonico o sia maniera facile per comporre un infinito numero di minuetti e trio anche senza sapere il contrapunto, da esseguirsi per due Violini e basso, o per due flauti e basso del Sign. Giuseppe Haidn," if by the master, is indeed nothing but a joke. The "Divertimento à Echo pour deux flutes, etc., pour être exécuté en deux appartements différents. à Paris, chez Imbault" is an arrangement of the original string setting.

Pohl mentioned a Harp sonata with flute and bass in G major among the compositions of 1770, but so far as we know it has never been found. Schmidt, in turn, speaks of a "Serenade (Cassation) for baryton, flute and horn" which we have been unable to locate; Elssler makes no reference to such a piece.[66]

* *
*

Haydn's best-known piece for the flute is a transcription. We refer to the sonata in G major, first published as Op. 90, No. 1,

[65]Since 1900, there have been several reprints: Kopfermann's edition of the second (C major) trio in the Haydn-Heft; Martin Glöder's of the same piece (No. 124 of the *Lose Blätter der Musikantengilde*); and Prof. Gustav Lenzewski's, brought out by Vieweg, in which Nos. I, III and IV are included, No. II omitted. All the above are in score and Vieweg also supplied parts. Finally, Dr. Leo Balet collected the four in Nagels *Musik-Archiv* No. 71. Dr. Balet declared: "Das [II] Trio erscheint hier zum erstenmal in Druck," but he was mistaken. At least three 19th-century and two 20th-century editions precede his reprint of No. II. The Nagel edition is only in parts.

[66]Pohl, II, p. 47; Schmidt, p. 130.
Since one of the two trios for lute, violin and 'cello (the D major Cassation), which was long thought to be irrevocably lost and which was also written in 1770, has recently been found and published, perhaps the harp sonata will also turn up.

by Breitkopf & Härtel in May, 1803.[67] Haydn biographers (Schmidt and Schnerich), writers on the flute (Fleury and Fitzgibbon), and even Professor Tovey, speak of the G major sonata as an original flute composition, perhaps because it stands today in the standard editions of Haydn's violin sonatas (as No. 8). This is hard to account for since Gerber, as early as 1812, pointed out that the two sonatas were arranged from the Erdödy quartets Op. 77, Nos. 1 and 2, and Pohl's standard life of Haydn confirmed Gerber. Tovey, excusing what he considered the transcribed form writes: "The critic would forget that instruments were made for music and vice versa if he sought to damage Haydn's last and greatest complete quartets (the two in Op. 77) by pointing out that they were first written as sonatas for piano and violin (or flute)."[68] Fleury in turn criticizes publishers who have brought out the sonata for violin rather than for flute.[69]

The account books of Breitkopf & Härtel, however, inform us that the arrangement was made by August Eberhard Müller for 20 Reichsthaler, and this information should save our critic from embarrassment and render Professor Tovey's apology superfluous.[70]

Haydn wrote a flute concerto in 1780, but so far as we know, no one has ever examined it, let alone analyzed it. Pohl said that

[67]The title reads: "Deux Sonatas pour le Pianoforte avec l'accompagnement d'une Flûte, par J. Haydn. Œuv. 90. No. 1. A Leipsic, chez Breitkopf & Härtel. Pr. 12 Gr." The second sonata in F, is for "Pianoforte avec l'accompagnement d'un Violon, etc. Œuv. 90, No. 2, etc."

[68]Cobbett's "Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music," p. 541.

[69]"Encyclopédie et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire," Paris, Fasc. 19, p. 1515.

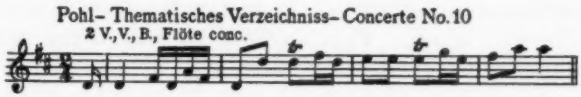
[70]Müller's connection with the sonata was pointed out in 1909 by Hermann von Hase: *Joseph Haydn und Breitkopf & Härtel*, 1909, pp. 46, 47.

August Eberhardt Müller (1767-1817) was a very cultivated and highly respected musician. His arrangement is excellent, and well might be, for he was both a flutist and a pianist of no mean ability. He was a successor of J. S. Bach at the Thomaskirche, and Städtischer Musik-direktor in Leipzig. Haydn himself spoke of Müller's *Klavierauszug* of "The Creation" as "für den besten, verständlichsten und leichtesten unter seinen Brüdern." Müller's early training with J. C. Fr. Bach (Sebastian's ninth son, known as *Der Bückeburger*) was put to good purpose.

A critic in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (September, 1803, p. 832) spoke well of the flute transcription: "Die Einrichtung für die angegebenen Instrumente [Flöte oder Violine] ist mit so grosser Sorgfalt gemacht dass man die Quartetten hier wirklich ganz hat, und doch sind die Sonaten wirklich spielbar." And on July 16th, 1800, a reviewer of an arrangement of quartet No. 6, Op. 76, for flute and piano, which we believe was also made by Müller, remarked in the same journal: "Man könnte diese Sonate, so wie sie hier ist, leicht für Original halten"—and this is exactly what Fleury, Tovey, and others have done with the G major sonata.

Op. 76, No. 6 and Op. 74, No. 1, have recently been reëdited: (*Flöten-Sonaten für die Hausmusik herausgegeben von H. W. Draber*, Nos. 2 and 3, Berlin, Bote & Bock, 18613, 18615). Draber knew that neither sonata was original, but commented: "Es liegt jedoch die Vermutung nahe, dass sie von einem Schüler Haydns herrühren und möglicherweise unter der Aufsicht des Meisters angefertigt worden sind." We are inclined to disagree and to credit Müller with these transcriptions, knowing that he was responsible for the transformation of Op. 77, No. 1, to the G major flute sonata.

it was lost. According to Haydn's catalogue, the concerto was scored for flute and strings, the use of horns—frequent at the time—being avoided.



Several years ago two violin concerti turned up and, it is to be hoped that, the flute concerto may also have been found.[71]

Haydn's flute concerto was written in 1780; Mozart wrote both of his in 1778, while he was at Mannheim. The change in Haydn's style in the '70s and the influence of Mozart are known. Since Mozart's flute concerti were written several years before Haydn's, there is reason to believe that the younger musician may have influenced the elder in the concerto as well as in the quartet and symphonic forms. It would be interesting to know whether or not Mozart's influence is visible in this work. Besides, as Schering says: "When he [Haydn] tried to write concerti, the same thing happened to him as to other excellent masters of the symphony—fashion tyrannized them."[72] Imitation may equal or surpass the model; Haydn's derivative concerti generally did neither; and Gerber, after speaking of the piano concerti, remarks: "Desgleichen hat man auch aus seinem jugendlichen Alter noch verschiedene Konzerte für die Violine, die Flöte, das Horn und das Violoncell. Sie scheinen aber alle nach und nach vergessen worden zu seyn"—and this was only in 1812.[73]

The theme of another flute concerto assigned to Haydn is preserved for us in Breitkopf's thematic supplement for 1771 (p. 19). Pohl considered it genuine but observed: "bietet keinen Anlass zur Besprechung."[74] He missed a good opportunity: there is reason enough to discuss the concerto if only for the fact that the composer himself failed to mention it. Furthermore, Gerber did

[71] "Hoffentlich lässt nun die Firma Breitkopf & Härtel eine Partitur seiner sämtlichen Violinkonzerte bald erscheinen und nimmt die Herausgabe der Konzerte für Flöte, Oboe, Kontrabass u. s. w. bald in Angriff." Wilhelm Altmann, in *Die Musik*, 1908-1909, VIII, *Haydn-Heft*, p. 231. Apparently Mr. Altmann thought there was a copy about. A Haydn Concerto in D for flute was performed at a *Concert Spirituel* in the *Chapelle du Mémorial Méthodiste*, Paris, October 30th 1932, under the direction of M. Isadore Freed. This may be the work in question.

[72] *Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 157.

[73] *Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 1812, p. 589.

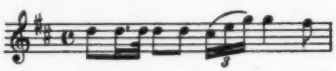
[74] *Joseph Haydn*, II, p. 302.

not include a second flute concerto in his list of Haydn's compositions, but since Pohl first accepted it, Haydn scholars have almost universally followed his lead.

We have noted the importance of Breitkopf's thematic index, the source which led Pohl to include a second flute concerto among Haydn's works. Pohl did well to consult the catalogue, but he made a mistake in not examining it more closely. The thematic list of the *Concerti A Flauto Traverso* for 1781 (p. 27) includes the concerto assigned to Haydn in 1771; but in the later list, this becomes the second of *11. Concerti da Leop. Hoffmann.* The later date, Haydn's catalogue, and his comparative indifference to the flute—which we trust is now definitely established—leave little doubt that this concerto is by Hoffmann.[75]

Concerto à Flauto Traverso assigned to Haydn

[Spurious– by Leopold Hoffmann]



* *
*

Let us sum up Haydn's relation to the flute. The composer declared that he first learned to understand wind-instruments late in life and we are prepared to take him at his word, so far as the flute is concerned. That "at all periods he was ready to write for it in chamber music" seems to us an overstatement. Haydn transcribed the baryton and lyra compositions to suit demand and circumstance; but he really began to write for the flute only after

[75]Leopold Hoffmann (1730-1793) was one of the first to adopt the new orchestral style in the middle of the 18th century and was extremely popular, owing to his facile manner. There is irony in the fact that Haydn should be credited with a work by Hoffmann since the latter was a special *bête noire* of Haydn's. Writing to Artaria July 20th, 1781, about some lyrics he had composed, Haydn burst out: "The same three songs have (between ourselves) been set to music wretchedly by *Kapellmeister* Hofman, and just because this braggart thinks that he alone has climbed to the summit of Mount Parnassus, and tries in every case to run me down with certain circles of the great world, I have composed these same songs to show this alleged great world the difference. *Sed hoc inter nos.*"

Nos. 2, 24 and 33 of the symphonies, formerly assigned to Haydn, are now credited to Hoffmann. Cf. the Gesamtausgabe Ser. I, No. I, p. VI. As Mandyczewski remarked: "zu Haydns Zeit viel mehr Werke ihm unterschoben, als abgesprochen und anderen zugeschrieben wurden, als dem fleissigen, so rasch beliebt gewordenen Haydn, und mit seinem Namen mögen auch die beste Aussicht auf Verbreitung gehabt haben." Preface to Vol. I of the symphonies, p. iii.

The 'cello concerto in D was arranged for flute and orchestra by Ebers, and published by André, Offenbach, at the turn of the last century. Schillings credited it to Anton Kraft.

the English had solicited him for compositions. Almost all of the important flute pieces are traceable to this demand, with the exception of Op. 5—an addition to Haydn's quartets, as well as to the flute compositions. Musically, Op. 5 helps connect the first twelve string-quartets with Op. 3; it deserves closer study than we have been able to give it here.

While the divertimento form is not especially popular to-day even with the 18th-century enthusiasts, we should nevertheless like to recommend Haydn's cassations to the curious; if one is fond of *Volkstümlichkeit*, the effort of performance will not go unrewarded. Despite their weaknesses, too, the smaller transcribed baryton trios have a certain definite appeal. The trios written for Forster and Bland are the most legitimate flute compositions Haydn composed; those demanded of him by Lord Abingdon and Sir Willoughby Aston (while perhaps not thrilling) are engaging.

If Haydn never rose to great heights in his chamber music for the flute, it is because he lacked real enthusiasm for the instrument. There is nevertheless a living charm and interest in many of the works we have discussed and they are far superior to the wind-instrument compositions of most of his contemporaries. After all, the title "father of instrumental music" speaks for itself, and if Haydn wrote less eloquently for the flute than for string-quartet, he was still a man of genius. It was Goethe, the master observer, who said with consummate finality of Haydn's chamber music: "Diese seine Werke sind eine ideale Sprache der Wahrheit, in ihren Theilen nothwendig zusammenhängend und lebendig. Sie sind zu überbieten, aber nicht zu übertreffen."

99 PACIFIC AVENUE
or, In Search of a Birthplace

By O. G. SONNECK†

On October 6th Oscar Sonneck would have been sixty years old; on October 30th it will be five years since he died. As one surveys what Sonneck accomplished in a lifetime so prematurely ended—during the years of his studies in Europe and research in America; as a writer of musicological and critical articles and books; as a lecturer; as the first Chief of the Music Division in the Library of Congress, organizing and developing practically single-handed one of the largest and most important music collections in the world; as a bibliographer (his monumental catalogue of opera libretti before 1800 alone represents an Herculean task); as the first scientifically trained historian of early music in America; later on as Director of Publications and Vice-President of G. Schirmer, Inc.; as librarian and active furtherer of the Beethoven Association; as a friend and helper of rising musical talent; as the editor of "The Musical Quarterly"—the sum of his labors is truly stupendous.

Many who met Oscar Sonneck saw oftenest only his serious and occasionally rough or disgruntled side. But at heart he was tender and generous; nor was he without wit and humor. We have thought of commemorating his sixtieth birthday by offering to our readers an amusing little skit of his—written in 1922 and hitherto unpublished—that reveals all the methodical exactness of the scholar and at the same time has the light touch of the ironist, an unusual combination, but quite characteristic of Oscar Sonneck. Following this, we print a letter written by Sonneck from Munich, in 1894, when he was 21, and addressed to his mother who was then living in Frankfurt. He always corresponded with her in German. Those who knew him, will recognize in the young student the whole man: a prey to "Weltschmerz" and pessimism, yet acutely reasoning, and endowed with an indomitable will-power and energy.—C. E.

I WAS born on October 6, 1873, in Jersey City at what A. D. 1922 was No. 446 Pacific Avenue. And thereby hangs a tale.

My birth-certificate duly and officially records the date of my birth, the names of my parents George C. Sonneck and Julia Sonneck, either Jersey City or Lafayette (then still a suburb of Jersey City)—and, as the place of my birth, *99* Pacific Avenue.

In the Spring of 1922 I suddenly conceived the notion to visit the spot where I was born. Partly out of curiosity, partly because my sense of humor (queer at times, I admit) pictured to me the possibility of renting or purchasing the house with the prospect

O. G. Sonneck, on the porch of his Washington Home, *circa* 1913

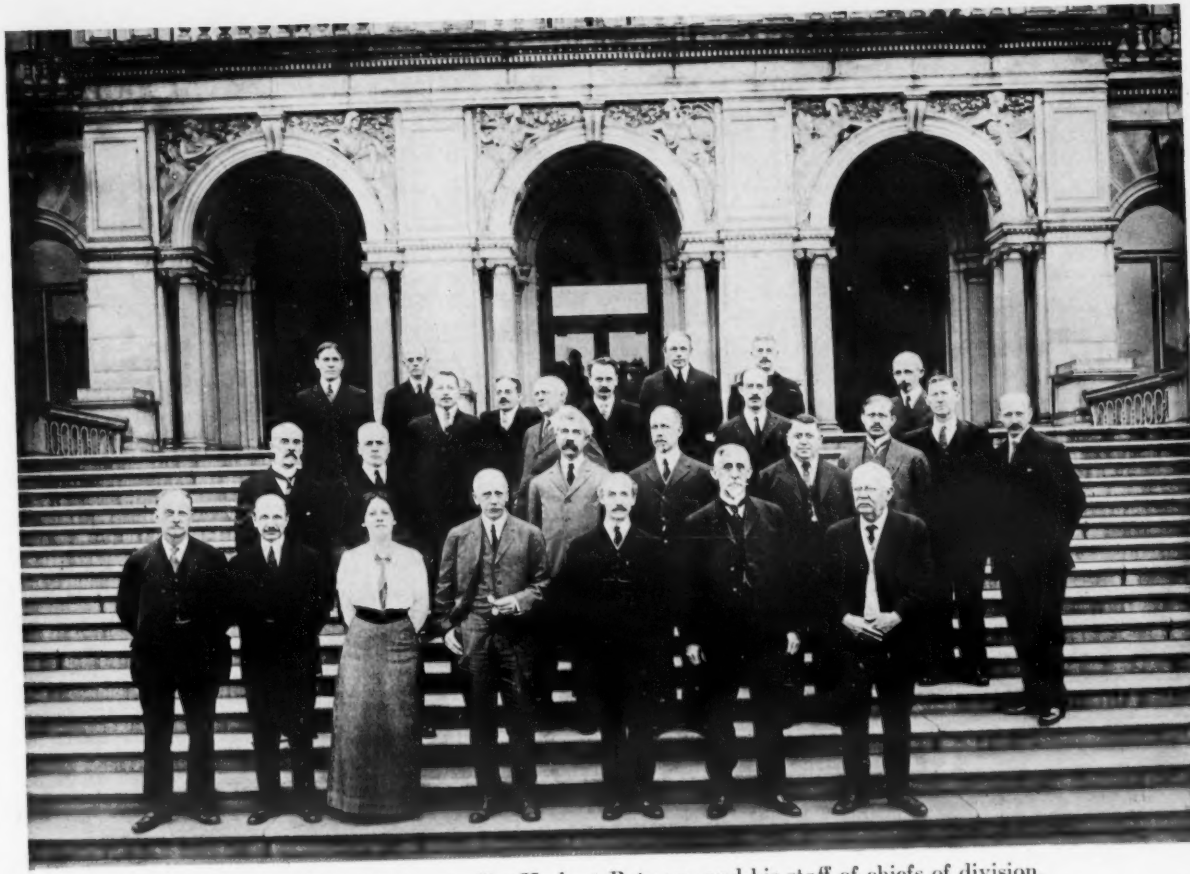
The House, No. 446, formerly No. 99 Pacific Avenue, Jersey City



O. G. Sonneck, on the porch of his Washington Home, *circa* 1913



The House, No. 446,
formerly No. 99 Pacific Avenue, Jersey City



The Librarian of Congress, Dr. Herbert Putnam, and his staff of chiefs of division, on the front steps of the Library, Spring, 1914

of dying where I was born—completing the circle. So my wife, a friend of hers from Jersey City (who knew something about the topography of that beauty-forsaken place), and I made the pilgrimage one Sunday afternoon, reaching Pacific Avenue by trolley. It was strange, as after-events proved, that we first took what seemed to be the wrong direction, towards the higher house numbers of Pacific Avenue. We then went in the opposite direction as far as the street-car permitted and walked the remaining distance. At first that lower part of Pacific Avenue presented itself as quite a respectable, habitable street of typically American red-brick two-story houses with basement, but gradually the "elegance" faded, and at No. 146 it vanished altogether. That is, the world came to an end. Unpaved, unkempt Pacific Avenue continued between railroad embankments, a few factories and a vast dump of broken this and that, ashes, decaying fish, and similar dainties. Of houses, except a solitary saloon, half a mile farther, no trace. However, I proceeded to the hypothetical location of No. 99, and viewed the void with mixed feelings. Especially, when I saw the Statue of Liberty greeting me from the distance over the railroad embankment in front of me. The odor of my birthplace was too much for me, and I returned to the poorish end of inhabited Pacific Avenue, my vanity somewhat hurt, and my imagination painfully stirred by the apparent discovery that no admirer of mine, nor a grateful posterity could nail a memorial tablet to the house in which one Oscar George Theodore Sonneck was born.

The conclusion, of course, was that the house in which I was born must have been demolished or must have tumbled down under the weight of inoccupancy—for who but a poor, struggling civil engineer could have thought fifty years ago of living in such repulsive surroundings, in what at that time must practically have been a swamp?

In that light I reported the episode to my mother, though already suspicious of the success of the expedition and the accuracy of my findings. It seemed doubtful that houses could disappear so utterly in a street inhabited fifty years ago. It was more plausible to suppose that perhaps in later years the houses had been renumbered so that No. 99 had now perhaps become 199. At any rate, I reported to my mother the failure of the man seeking his birthplace, as good-humoredly as I knew how. Her answer was a mild rebuke for my belief that I was given the dignity of birth in such a poorish district and on the spot of a future, hideous, though colossal, dump-heap.

on the front steps of the Library, Spring, 1914

My mother's tenacious memory brought back to her the scene of my birthplace: No. 99 Pacific Ave. was in 1873 in the "better" part of the street, not far from Grand Street. It was a two-story red-brick house with basement, only about four or five years old, and the house was owned by a friend of my parents, "Uncle Graeven."

Well, the physical description fitted dozens of houses along Pacific Avenue, but that description with the reference to Grand St. and Uncle Graeven furnished convincing clues that the ill-fated expedition had indeed been "*fehl am Ort.*" Since 1873, something had evidently happened to the house numbers. That something I was determined to run down during my next vacation, relying on my former technique of research.

In August I made my second expedition to Jersey City and betook myself to the Jersey City Public Library. There, with the help of an intelligent woman-librarian in charge of city-directories, I went through all the directories of Jersey City from 1873 on upward and downward. And this is what we found: none of them contained the name of Sonneck—another blow to vanity—and that of 1878-79 was the first with a street-directory, informing the reader that Pacific Ave. (Lafayette) ran N. from Greenville to Grand St. It began with No. 91 at the corner of Ash, and the block between Ash and the next street, Walnut Ave., began with Nos. 122-124. In 1895-96 the directory showed the change from Walnut to Johnson Ave., the numbering remaining the same for Pacific Ave. It so continued until the end of the century, but in the directory of 1900-01 suddenly the first number mentioned for Pacific Ave. became 456, and the block between Ash St. and Johnson Ave. was numbered 456-414. This state of affairs we compared with the official Jersey City map and it agreed.

The conclusion was obvious: at the time of the consolidation of Lafayette with Jersey City, about 22 years ago, the city fathers decided to reverse the numbering of Pacific Ave. Where the high numbers had been, they now put the low numbers—those below 146 theoretically into that evil-looking, evil-smelling dump-heap—and where the low numbers had been they put the high numbers, so that Pacific Ave. now runs N. from Greenville to Grand completely reversed as to the sequence of the numbers.

That was obvious; but it was also clear that No. 99, where I was officially born, must now be sought, and must still be sought, in the block between Ash St. and Johnson Ave.

Thus the problem had simmered down to locating between Nos. 456-414, or the corresponding odd numbers, the house which formerly was known as No. 99. Here the real puzzle began, because I did not know on what side of the street formerly the odd numbers were located. That point neither the directories nor the map made clear, yet on that point the whole success of my research depended. So I decided to hasten to that fascinating block and to interrogate "oldest inhabitants" after looking over the premises. From the coloring of the map it could be deducted that the haunted castle of my birth must have been what were now 447-445 *or* 446-444, other red-brick houses being too far down the street or too new, as inspection on the spot substantiated. The *or* was the puzzling factor in the situation, and this I decided to remove by first visiting the (horrible) saloon at the corner of Ash St., No. 452. As luck would have it, an elderly workman—the whole block being inhabited now by laborers—was not too far gone alcoholically to take an interest in my "case." After some reflection he decided to take me farther up the street on the other side to a musty greybeard who had lived in the neighborhood for forty years or longer.

The old gentleman's memory was rather weak, but while he could not remember where No. 99 had formerly been, he did know that his own No. 463 had formerly been No. 82! My bibulous friend and I departed in triumph: we now knew that the odd numbers formerly were on that side of Pacific Ave. where now the even numbers are. But with that important discovery luck deserted us. We tackled in vain one of the real-estate dealers in the vicinity; he was too green for my purpose. But he was courteous and referred us to a colleague of an older vintage, a Mr. Schlick, whose mother especially would know all about No. 99, having lived in that block for decades. Unfortunately Mr. Schlick was out of town. There was nothing to do but get his address for inquiry by me, if it should be necessary to "search" old Mrs. Schlick's recollections. I treated my patient collaborator to what proved the vilest beer I ever tasted, in the aforesaid corner saloon, and we parted.

As a last effort for the day, I had a look at Nos. 446 and 444, either of which two houses, I had calculated, might be the historic spot. No. 446 seemed deserted, though not uninhabited. I tried its twin, No. 444. It was opened with reluctance by a workman of patently Slavic origin. He either did not understand me, or English, and I was about to give it up as a bad job when another Slav emerged from the rear. He spoke English fluently and was

an intelligent chap, but all he could tell me was that he had bought the house from another Slav recently. However, he would look up his deed and if it said anything about the former number, he would let me know.

That 446 *versus* 444 left me no peace, and so I decided the next day to bother the city authorities with my problems. First I went to the surveyor's office in the City Hall. The official was very willing and polite, as most officials are if one knows how to handle them; but it became a matter of tactful diplomacy to suggest to him how he might find what he was looking for. To make a long story short, he finally hauled out some surveyors' maps dating from about 1873 and compared them with the recent map. With the result that we found Nos. 446 and 444 to be Lots M and L in Block 2092 and that they corresponded with what had been formerly the double lot 13 in Block 327.

This again was a step forward. There remained only to dig out from the city records which half-lot of 13 once upon a time belonged to "Uncle Graeven." That proved to be more troublesome than I expected. Partly because the City Clerk whom I tackled for that job apparently did not put at first much faith in my logic—I, a mere inquiring citizen with a fool notion, and he a politician and official—partly because he evidently was the type of man who will go about a thing in his own way or not at all. Fortunately for me, however, he was not unintelligent, though self-set, and he made up his mind to settle my question without losing many words about it, once he saw that I knew what I was talking about.

As a conscientious politician generally does, he knew a great deal about his ward or district; although at first he denied that there was such a corner saloon, he finally "remembered" the place and the "wop" who owned it. But the Mr. Graeven bothered him. He did not recall any such citizen, though he had known that block for many, many years, etc. It was best to let that sort of mind use its own method of investigation, without antagonizing the man with argument, just at a time when his assistants were out for lunch and he had other, and presumably more important, business to attend to.

Mr. City Clerk (whom I sized up pretty soon as a capable fellow accustomed to doing things) hit upon the same method as I had done the day before: he telephoned to one of the old-timers, a Judge who had lived thereabouts for fifty years. Mr. Justice did not remember anyone by the name of Graeven or Greven. *Q. E. D.*, but at my suggestion that Mr. Graeven might

have owned the house without having lived there himself and therefore might conceivably not have been known to the dear old judge of infallible memory, and considering further that my official Jersey City birth-certificate showed that I was born at 99 Pacific Ave., and that my mother positively knew the house to have been owned by Mr. Graeven, said City Clerk changed his tactics and dragged forth from the vaults the terribly dusty tax-assessment books, etc., the only records that could possibly answer my question without useless debate. Once he had gone that far, he kept at it and, turning the leaves of the venerable tome, he found, as I knew he would, Uncle Graeven's name. That he was entered as Theodore Graves—the city clerk pointing out to me with some satisfaction *my* error in the name—made preciously little difference to me, but to put Mr. City Clerk in good humor I conceded my mistake, or rather misinformation. Whereupon he spent another ten minutes comparing the old records and found that, indeed, Theodore "Graves" had owned in 1872-73 a house in the old block 437, *but* Lot 7, not part of Lot 13.

At this contretemps, which threatened to upset all my calculations, I had to laugh. The gentleman resented that, but was pacified when I explained to him the discrepancy and its bearing on the matter. Whereupon he held forth against surveyors' maps, etc., their ignorance in such matters, etc., and made the good point that tax records with their details were a better guide for my purposes than surveyors' maps. It being certain from the records that Mr. Graves owned Lot 7, it could make little difference how the numbering of lots by surveyors differed from the one used by the tax assessor, particularly as surveyors' numberings changed. Mr. Graves having paid his taxes on a Lot No. 7, the only question still to be answered was: what was the present number of that lot?

And after due investigation here is what we learned from the records:

In Block 2092, Lot L, No. 444, is now owned by Mary Rybezyk and Lot M, No. 446, by Carrie Curran. In 1872-73 Lot L had been Lot 6, bore the street number 101, and was owned by George Ellis; and Lot M was now what had been Lot 7, once owned by Theodore Graves. *Ergo, Lot M being the same as the then Lot 7 and Lot M being No. 446 Pacific Ave., it was this house that in 1873 bore the street number 99.*

Thus, after much travail and, for me, amusing research, argument, and calculation, I returned to New York City, armed with the incontrovertible knowledge that I was born on October

6, 1873, in Jersey City, at No. 99 Pacific Ave. which is now No. 446.

The expedition, however, had one other result: it made me abandon any desire to rent or purchase my birthplace. Far be it from me.

OSCAR GEORGE THEODORE SONNECK.

Aug. 25, 1922.

Munich, May 27, 1894.

Dear Mother:

Just as I was about to write to you, I received your dear letter. Very well, I will confess to you what is the reason for my dissatisfaction.

In considering my whole upbringing, one might really think that I should be the most contented person. I have always been kept in a certain abundance. I lacked nothing that love and money-bags were able and permitted to grant me. Almost everyone of my little wishes, which often were very big ones, has been satisfied.

I am referring here especially to birthday and Christmas presents. What young man of my age and in my circumstances owns his own Blüthner [grand piano], or these quantities of partly very valuable books and scores; what young man, unless he is the scion of rich people, could have traveled as much as I have: certainly, all my wishes were anticipated. I have been petted and spoiled, and, on the other hand, I have been kept under, where it was necessary. Eminent stress has been laid on my education. But why enumerate all the advantages that I have had, and still have, compared with others.

Everything that circumstances, everything that the love of a mother and others could possibly have given me, I have received and have been allowed to enjoy. Consequently I should be the most contented, the happiest person.

But unfortunately this is not so!

Because I should have said instead of "the most contented," the most grateful person. That would better hit the nail on the head. Contentment can be an outer and an inner one. You probably know what I mean, since you yourself, dear Mother, used these expressions in your letter.

Inner contentment I lack. And this for easily comprehensible reasons.

Had I not been reared in these conditions, had from the beginning your and my circumstances of life been different, I should have probably not been placed in the dilemma of being discontented—with myself. I should have become a business man or God knows what else, and would not, as now, so to speak, have a ticket for the race to immortality.

A clerk has no reason to be discontented with himself, so long as he fulfils the duties of his calling. I am talking of the clerk in general. But as soon as he is pricked by the ambition to become later on independent, or a distinguished merchant, to gain reputation, social position, riches, he will perhaps fall into the same predicament as that of *stud. phil.* O. G. Sonneck.

For in reality it is unsatisfied ambition which daily, hourly, makes me discontented. To be sure, I am not yet 21 and many a one of 24 who also is a student, or even has been one, does not know as much as I know now. But of what avail is industry, energy, and what good is money, luck, and the, in other things so indispensable, love of my relatives and friends, so long as *I* still find a sore spot in myself: and that is, in my case, the obvious want of exceptional talent.

Well, there you have it: "exceptional talent!" I possess industry, energy, educational means, but the chief means are lacking: the talent.

Another fellow, for instance, studies law. If he's in luck, he becomes a lawyer. He knows from the beginning—experience proves it sufficiently—that as such he can be an average [*mittelmässig*] being. His ambition is not a great one, it is healthy and not "false."

My case is different. By nature I have, as I may well say, extraordinary ambition. Instead of damming it up, I have always nursed it, because at times I have really imagined I was a great mind. I saw myself in my imagination now in this, now in that position, but always in a place from which my picture could be taken for the album of immortals. I wanted to become an important, a famous man. So long as one does not have the opportunity more closely to examine one's cranium in that respect, this may be pardonable.

But even now I want to become a famous man. That is my failing.

I could well ask myself: you have a large portion of energy, a considerable share of the necessary diligence, why should you not succeed as others did who had less of these qualities? Then comes the reply: they had eminent talents, you haven't. Yes, dear Mother, I realize it more and more that I am only an average person [*Durchschnittsmensch*] so far as talents are concerned. What is it that I have really more talent for than the great mass? As orator, school teacher, clergyman, stonebreaker, business man, possibly musician, painter, poet, savant, or what? Answer: for nothing. My greatest talent is want of talent [*Am meisten Talent habe ich eben noch zur Talentlosigkeit*].

I could rightfully tell myself: if your talents were commensurate with your industry, energy, and above all your ambition, your name would live more than a hundred years hence. But now imagine a person in whom these qualities are not in the right proportion. Imagine a person in whom ambition gnaws and burns, who has no competitor in building air castles, who holds before his eyes a high, a sublime goal; yes, a goal of which other people would not dare think, a goal which, if he reaches it, would mean honor, fame, and thus inner contentment, self-satisfaction, because he strives for it in the interest of all mankind. Imagine a person actuated by such colossal ambition, but imagine him also as a critical self-observer who knows how to judge his faults as well as his virtues. Imagine him conscious of his lack of talent, of how ambition and ability can not pair themselves in him as an harmonious whole. Imagine him in all his hunger, in all his heart-devouring pain—he is and must be unhappy, he must gradually become sour, pessimistic and, if the torment becomes too great, may be driven to insanity.

If I were only as talented as for instance L. F.! In fifteen years everyone would have to look up to me. But what, after that space of time, will really be the case? *I* shall, as ever, have to look up to *them*.

Unsatisfied ambition, unquenchable ambition, that, in short, is the cause of my discontent. One example may suffice to prove that these self-observations are not self-delusions! Who, among relatives and friends, has ever maintained that mine is a productive nature? I dare-say no one. Well, what can I do with all the acquired and acquirable knowledge, if in some other shape, in the form of independent thoughts, it does not flow from the vessel into which I poured it?

Probably, dear Mother, you have for some time had it on your tongue to interject: but you are still so young. To be sure I am so young, so green, so stupid. But all the worse, if as a novice in the field of aesthetics I already realize that, in spite of all my assiduity, I may not get far, because of my lack of talent.

This is the only field in which I could persevere. My dissatisfaction is not caused by my consciousness of lacking talent in certain directions, but by the realization of the disproportion between my general abilities and my ambition.

You suggested to me that I change horses. But that would be falling from the frying pan into the fire. At a time when the germ of my present mood already existed, I chose with full consciousness my present studies. But my real purpose I did not disclose to you. My later activities, my hoped-for eminence, I imagined in a purely artistic field, as a creator and possibly interpreter of music. That I have no talent as a composer, is as good as proved; as a conductor? Time will teach. From the beginning I considered my æsthetic studies as the indispensable equipment of any artist—unfortunately it is not so today in cold reality. Because between an artist and an artisan, and still more an artistic under-strapper, there must be made a sharp distinction.

In accordance herewith I have mapped out yearly the progress of my education. Up to my thirtieth year, every day is taken up with studies, which I have already planned for.

Hence, dear Mother, in this respect you need have no worry. I know what I want, but I do not know what I shall turn out to be, since I know that I cannot achieve what I want.

You see, the reason for my dejection lies deep, very deep. Only very few of my acquaintances know about it, the others need not learn of it. Though time will not heal the wound, it will dull the pain. Time is the best medicine for such ills.

But the main thing is, not to lose courage, even though the head is lost. Even if energetic, constant, conscious, striving does not quite lead us to the goal we have set ourselves, after the exertions are over one is none the less pleased with the stretch of way one has covered. At first one looks up to the summit. If one is seized with despair, one looks down again to the valley, far below, and then gathers new hope. Even though at the half-way mark one does not have as beautiful a view as from the summit, one does enjoy, compared with the view from the valley, an incomparably wider prospect of mighty nature. Moreover, will-power is the best hostelry along the arduous way.

In accordance with your wishes, I shall talk over all these things with Uncle Heinrich. I hope that I find him in. You can realize now that my remark, the other day, about some unprejudiced friend to whom I should like to open my heart, was not without reason. Now you have been that friend, dear Mother.

When I sit along with others at the Café Luitpold, nobody notices anything, not even Moritz. They would not understand me; Moritz perhaps, but he could give me only sympathy, not advice.

Many thanks for the piano score. Unfortunately I do not have time enough at present to study it. As regards Bayreuth, we do not yet seem to understand each other. Bayreuth for the present only interests me. Interest without instruction, however, is of no use to your son. In order to appreciate Parsifal, one would have to hear it either six times, or once after thorough preliminary studies. To be sure, most people who have been there say "it is wonderful." That is a cheap opinion. Forty years ago—assuming that Parsifal had existed then—people would have hissed and ridiculed it. Now we know that R. Wagner is a genius, *ergo* everything that he writes is the work of a genius, hence "wonderful." Only very few understand Parsifal, the incorporation of mysticism in the music. And this is fortunate for the art of music! Otherwise, all that existed before R. W. would be considered as childish stuff, though they don't understand even that.

My idea is as follows: I attend here in Munich from August 8 to 20, let us say, the Ring, Meistersinger, Tristan. That is six performances at 6 marks. If I went to Bayreuth it would cost me altogether three times as much. At the same time I utilize these weeks, which fall already into vacation time, for a thorough study of the galleries and museums, for which so far I have had neither sufficient time nor the proper mood.

But I must hurry with the ordering of the tickets.

Let us now take a jump from the music drama to the underdrawers which you sent me. They are rather too wide than too small. I have not grown so terribly fat, only a little rounder. When I come to Frankfurt the superfluous fat can be easily pedaled away in three weeks. But sell, if you can, my bicycle. It may be difficult to do so; because it is very antiquated. In Frankfurt I shall ask A. L. to loan me his bicycle, which he will be glad to do. The few marks that you get for my bicycle you could exchange at Baer's for paper.

How is Dr. W.?

How is 45 Westendstrasse? Is everybody well? Does *Oma* [grandmother] play sick nurse? Better not, or E. would be spoiled. Have you a new governess? Now C. probably will have to be consulted when it comes to such acquisitions. Ugly governesses are decidedly the greatest æsthetic ruin for a young man. By looking at the beautiful, heart and soul also are beautified. Brr! If I had to look all day at ugly women! Again brrrrr! After the storm follows sunshine; but by the broken reeds, the leafless trees, one can still see that the storm has raged.

And so it has been with this letter. I should say, it is by far the longest that you have had in a long time from your son, who sends his greetings to you and the others, and who is yclept [*benamset*].

O. G. Sonneck.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

THE declaration of policy which prefaced the first volume of the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Monuments of Musical Art in Austria) was dated "October 1893," forty years ago. Among the nine men who signed their names to this declaration were Johannes Brahms, then 60 years old; Eduard Hanslick (the famous critic and opponent of Wagner's), then 68; and Hans Richter (conductor of the Vienna Court Orchestra and apostle of Wagner's), then 50. All three are dead. The first name in the list was that of Guido Adler, then a young man of 38. At 78—the doyen of musicology—he still is one of the youngest. For reasons other than that of alphabetical precedence, his name stood properly at the head of that list: he has been the editor-in-chief and active promoter of the publication since it began, his conception and his achievement. In undiminished energy and enthusiasm he carries on, grown only more distinguished with age and more beloved by his numerous disciples.

Guido Adler's success as an historian, biographer, critic, æsthetician, and teacher is not the result of mere application and learning. It is the natural fruit of a remarkable character and mind. His life spans years of strife—cultural, political, musical strife. He never shrank from any. He always fought for an ideal—cultural, political, or musical—and fought in the front rank with courage and unselfishness. Thus he won, if not always the conversion, at least the esteem of his rare foes. His many friends and adherents press around him in love and admiration whenever there is an opportunity to honor this simple and modest man. But, as he once said himself, his modesty is of the proud kind, charitable though uncompromising. It is the meekness of a lofty soul.

Adler wrote the opening article, on "The Scope and Aims of Musical Science," in the first number of the *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (Quarterly for Musical Science), which he founded, in 1884, together with the Handelian Chrysander and the Bachian Spitta. In 1885 he became professor of musicology at the University of Prague; and in 1898 he was appointed successor of Hanslick as professor at the University of Vienna, where he founded and conducted the musicological institute. "Style-criticism," the methodical differentiation between successive idioms

of musical speech and their interrelation, has been one of his chief studies.

The universality of Guido Adler's mind, the catholicity of his taste, have enabled him to appreciate and appraise tendencies and personalities in music that are almost diametrically opposed. He was one of the first "Faithful" of Bayreuth, whom Wagner took pains to befriend. It cost him nearly thirty years to write his book on Wagner, which is a model of clear-sighted penetration and impartial critique, and not a mere servile adulation of the god of Wahnfried. Adler was a pupil of Bruckner's, and became an intimate of Brahms. As friend and champion of Gustav Mahler, he proved himself staunch and bold. Among his pupils are such "modernists" as Egon Wellesz and Anton von Webern. The "Wozzeck" of Alban Berg fascinates him. He has discovered the secret of growing younger with advancing years. He has kept his *Weana Hamur* (Viennese humor), a brand unmatched and indefeasible. May he continue, in health and vigor, to direct the *Denkmäler*, which are his monument.

The 75th volume, the most recently issued, contains vocal chamber music by Antonio Caldara (1670-1736). It comprises ten solo cantatas, one for four sopranos, three madrigals with instrumental accompaniment, and thirty-five canons. The material was originally prepared for publication by Eusebius Mandyczewski, who died in 1929; he had been one of the oldest collaborators of the Austrian *Denkmäler* and was for many years the archivist of the "Friends of Music" in Vienna. His work on this volume has been completed by Dr. Karl Geiringer, the present custodian of the rich archives and library of the "Friends." This library alone possesses about 20,000 pages of music in Caldara's handwriting, composed during the twenty years of his stay in Vienna, from 1716 until his death. As conductor of the Imperial chapel, he had to compose numerous "commands." One of them, written in 1734 at the behest of the Empress, as a carnival's entertainment at Court, is the short cantata for four sopranos brought back to light in this volume. When it was first performed, two of the singers were the Archduchess Maria Theresa (later Empress) and her sister Archduchess Maria Anna. The four singers are supposed to be the participants in a card game, *hombre*, and the text is an artful combination of realism and allegory: *son specchio le carte dell' umane vicende*—cards are the mirror of human affairs. Caldara's vocal style comes often nearer being instrumental. If he can spin a *cantilena*, he evidently takes great

delight in letting the voice perform frequent and considerable skips. The aria *S'el piacere* in the cantata "La Rosa," with its opening phrase built on a ninth-chord, is a striking example of the manner. Marked *tempo di minuetto*, it requires a vocal flexibility, agility, and an evenness of "registers" that unfortunately are no longer found among the attributes of the average singer, and often are absent in even the most accomplished ones. Some of this music—the quartet of sopranos for instance—should attract the attention of our more enterprising organizations, such as the Beethoven Association or the Schola Cantorum. To regard these "monuments" solely as "tombstones" is to misread their purpose.

* *
*

Belgium has lately joined the nations engaged in excavating their musical antiquities, as evidenced by the first year (1932) of the *Monumenta Musicæ Belgiæ*. This series opens auspiciously with a volume of clavichord music by J. B. Lœillet (1680-1730)—a contemporary of Caldara's—edited by Joseph Watelet and provided with a brief quadrilingual introduction—in Flemish, French, English, and German—by Prof. Paul Bergmans. One or two languages less, and a somewhat ampler introduction, would have seemed more profitable. The publication is issued by the Association for Musical History in Antwerp, and in appearance it is very handsome.

Professor Bergmans has been long and favorably known for his patient research in the musical past of Flanders and Belgium. His discoveries, while not epoch-making, have added many a valuable brick to the rambling edifice of musical history.[1] Lœillet, or rather the Lœillets—brothers Jacques and Jean-Baptiste, or James and John—offered an inviting field for investigation. The two persons have been persistently confounded, their life-stories have been mixed. The compositions of one have been ascribed to the other. Reason for some of this confusion is the fact that Jacques is supposed to have signed himself occasionally Jacques Jean-Baptiste. Moreover, one or the other of the brothers is suspected of having taken advantage of a similarity of sound between the English pronunciation of his name and that of the great Lully, and of having allowed the two to pass for the same. But that is more likely to have been the dark design of a scheming publisher.

[1] His *Variétés Musicologiques* (Ghent, 1891) already contained some data on Jacques Lœillet (1685-1746).

Most of this confusion originated with Sir John Hawkins, although in time he was nearest to the subjects of the dispute. The two meager paragraphs on the brothers Lœillet in his "General History" (1776) of music probably contain as much that is incorrect as can be conveniently and compactly put into so short an account. Yet, it was for a long time the only available information, it was unquestioningly accepted by Fétis, it found its way into other cyclopedias, and it manifestly obscured the vision of Robert Eitner, who, in his "Quellen-Lexikon," succeeded in getting things nicely muddled when he assumed that both James and John at one time were in the service of the Elector of Bavaria, whereas in all probability it was only James—master on the flute, oboe, and sundry other instruments—who sought employment at the Court in Munich, and later at that of the French King. John, on the other hand, seems to have drifted to England early in the eighteenth century, to have become a member of the Haymarket orchestra in 1705, and to have spent most of his life in London, until he died there in 1730.

Here then would have been a splendid chance for Prof. Bergmans' *Kleinarbeit* and detective talents. To be sure, on one point, that of the forebears of the Lœillet brothers, he throws some new and revealing light. But in the main, his brief introduction still clings to some of the tales of Hawkins, including the one that the London publisher John Walsh entered into partnership with the Hares, father and son, "about 1710," which is at least 14 years out of the way, as Frank Kidson ("British Music Publishers") established some time ago.

In the "Guide Musical" (vol. 56, p. 331, 1910) "E.C." (Ernest Closson?) published a short note on J. B. Lœillet. On the strength of some discoveries made by Victor van der Haegen in the town records of Ghent—the ancestral home of the Lœillet family—the author contrived to get father and son Jean-Baptiste mixed up, and to assign to the latter the birth date of the former, on the contention that John could not have died in 1730, only 50 years old, and have amassed a fortune of £16,000, but that it must have been the composer and harpsichord player who was born in 1653, in order to have had all of 77 years in which to accumulate what would have been quite respectable savings.

This tale of the £16,000 is another one of Sir John's. They are supposed to have represented, in part, the proceeds from private musicales given by John—"of London," as the British Museum differentiates him from "Jean-Baptiste of Ghent." And the tale has been repeated, with due and unvarying awe, by

Fétis, Eitner, and so forth, down to Professor Bergmans, who calls it "at that time a very considerable sum for a musician." It would be even in these times.

Although it may have been impossible for Professor Bergmans, on the basis of the available material, to pronounce himself with certainty on who is who among the Lœillets, and to determine what compositions each one is responsible for, it would have been well had he given to the testimony of Hawkins no more weight than it evidently deserves, and had he pointed out more clearly wherein the other stories about the brothers conflict.

Professor Bergmans thinks that James in adopting the name Jacques Jean-Baptiste Lœillet, "added his brother's name to his own, no doubt with the intention of taking advantage of the latter's fame." Aside from the fact that James might have done no more than follow the not infrequent custom of appropriating his *father's* first names, which also were Jean-Baptiste, without trying to sail under his brother's flag, his main and mean purpose can have been none other than to perplex and discomfit future generations of musical historians.

Riemann-Einstein (1929) still believes that Jacques was "perhaps a son [!] of J.-B.," and adopts, in conformity with van der Haegen, 1653 as the year of birth for Jean-Baptiste, the composer, to whom are ascribed most of the flute sonatas and other pieces for wind-instruments.

Professor Bergmans takes it for granted that the composer of the "Suits" for harpsichord was also responsible for "the five books of twelve sonatas, which he published at Etienne and Jeanne Roger's, Amsterdam." These are apparently the six flute sonatas opus V, which—according to Eitner—state that their composer was *Musicien de la Chambre de l'Electeur de Bavière et Maître du Concert du Duc Ferdinand*, and which the British Museum, for this reason apparently, considers to be the work of Frère Jacques. The fact that Walsh in London printed some Lœillet music for wind-instruments does not necessarily mean that it was London-John's. For Walsh did a prodigious lot of pirating or reprinting of Continental issues, and may easily have lent a helping hand in a mystification that tended to becloud the identity of the author.

Grove (1927) admits that the Lœillet biographies "in some instances have become inextricably confused," and then gaily proceeds to add to the confusion by splitting the personality of "Jacques Jean-Baptiste" into a Jean-Baptiste, who in 1705 joined the orchestra of the Haymarket Theatre, and a Jacques who served at the Courts of Munich and Paris; to which is joined, as third

member of the mystic trinity, the John "of London" who died possessed of the fabled £16,000. Which makes a pretty kettle of fish-stories.

It is not unlikely that James, or Jacques (not Jean-Baptiste) of Ghent—the one who lived for a while in Munich and later entered the services of the King of France—was the composer of most of the flute music; and that John, or Jean-Baptiste, of London, was the composer of the harpsichord music. The pieces edited by Joseph Watelet comprise John's "Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet" (first published by Daniel Wright, Sr., probably in the second decade of the eighteenth century) and the "Six Suits of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet" (first published by Walsh about 1725). Of the first edition of these "Suits" Professor Bergmans was able to locate only three copies: in the British Museum, in the Scheurleer collection at The Hague, and in the library of the Paris Conservatoire respectively. A fourth copy, from the Lulworth Castle collection, was acquired by the Library of Congress in 1930.

To judge by the scarcity of brother John's surviving music—the "Suits" did get into a second edition—he can hardly have collected those £16,000 in publisher's royalties. All the greater's the pity. For these limpid, graceful, charming specimens of harpsichord music should have strongly appealed to music lovers in the "gallant century" as they must still to anyone who seeks a momentary respite from the complexity and the obtrusive clangor of our day by taking refuge in the simplicity and elegance of a too distant past. If the succeeding volumes, in their musical contents, keep the promise made by the first, the Monuments of Belgian Music will be a welcome addition among historical publications, and be a credit to the Society for Musical History in Antwerp.

* *
*

A work of far greater dimensions and scholarly achievement is the sumptuous first volume of the *Istituzioni e Monumenti dell'-Arte Musicale Italiana* (Milan, Ricordi, 1931) published under the high patronage of His Excellency, Benito Mussolini. With an uncommon interest in the past glories of his country as well as in its future development, *Il Duce* has apparently not stopped at the restoration of the architectural remains of ancient Rome, but has set the seal of his approval on a resurrection of the great musical treasures of the Italian Renaissance. The first volume of the Italian "Monuments" is dedicated to the instrumental and vocal

music of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, to which is added an *Aria della battaglia, per sonar d'instrumenti da fiato* by Annibale Padovano.

The editor of the volume, Giacomo Benvenuti, has provided it with an extended and elaborate preface, of 100 pages, in which he retraces the origins of the chapel at Saint Mark's in Venice, the earliest music printing in Italy (Petrucci), the organists in Venice during the 16th century, the influence of Willaert, the quarrels of the theorists, choral singing, the beginnings of instrumental ensemble, the first vocal-instrumental performance at the wedding celebration of Francesco dei Medici and Giovanna d'Austria at Florence in 1565, and finally the election of Andrea Gabrieli to the post of organist at Saint Mark's in 1564, and that of his nephew Giovanni in 1585, with an account of their lives and works. An ambitious task has been brilliantly performed. The value of this careful survey reaches beyond its immediate connection with the music that it prefaces. This music once breathed the spirit of innovation, or "modernity," especially in the deliberate creation of a polyphonic instrumental music in the arias and ricercars *per sonar*. The appended bibliography of Andrea's compositions is a model of its kind. And of the paper, printing, engraving, illustrations, and reproductions, not enough can be said in praise. The material and its presentation set a new standard of perfection.

C. E.

QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

ABRAHAM, GERALD
This modern stuff; a fairly "plaine and easie" introduction to contemporary music. With a pref. by Sir Dan Godfrey. 94 p. London: Denis Archer.

ADAIR, YVONNE
The percussion band; a guide for teachers. London: Novello & Co., Ltd.

ALLEN, JULES VERNE
Cowboy lore. xiii, 165 p, 8°. San Antonio, Texas: Naylor Printing Co., 1933.

BEDFORD, H.
Robert Schumann; his life and work. Popular ed. xii, 270 p, 8°. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1933.

BOUGHTON, RUTLAND
John Sebastian Bach. Popular ed. xii, 303 p, 8°. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1933.

COLLES, H. C.
The Royal College of Music; a jubilee record, 1883–1933. 56 p. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

CORDER, FREDERICK
François Liszt. Popular ed. xii, 170 p, 8°. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1933.

COWEN, SIR FREDERICK H.
Little talks about big composers. 110 p, 8°. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1933.

EVANS, EDWIN
Stravinsky: "The Firebird" and "Petrushka." (The musical pilgrim.) London: Oxford University Press.

FORSYTH, CECIL
Clashpans; five-line staves on matters musical. 96 p, obl. 32°. New York: The Cornwall Press, 1933.

GIBBON, JOHN MURRAY
Magic of melody. With an introd. by Christopher Stone. 128 p. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1933.

GRACE, HARVEY
Ludwig van Beethoven. Popular ed. xii, 326 p, 8°. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1933.

HADOW, SIR W. H.
The place of music among the arts. 32 p. London: Oxford University Press.

HILL, RALPH
Brahms; his life and times. 188 p. London: Denis Archer.

HOWES, FRANK
William Byrd. Popular ed. xii, 267 p. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1933.

HUSSEY, DYNELEY
Wolfgang Amade Mozart. Popular ed. xiv, 368 p. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1933.

JONES, MATT B.
Bibliographical notes on Thomas Walter's "Grounds and rules of musick explained." (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October 1932.) 14 p, 8°. Worcester, Mass.: The American Antiquarian Society, 1933.
Some bibliographical notes on Cotton Mather's "The accomplished singer." (From the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Vol. 28.) 9 p, 8°. Boston: 1933.

KEPPEL, FREDERICK P. and R. L. DUFFUS
The arts in American life. xi, 227 p, 8°. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933.

KLEIN, HERMAN
The golden age of opera. 275 p. London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd.

KRAPP, G. P.
The Paris Psalter and the meters of Boethius. 240 p, 8°. London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1933.

KROESCH, SAMUEL
German songs, old and new. viii, 120 p, 12°. New York: H. Holt & Co., 1933.

MAINE, BASIL
Elgar; his life and works. 2 vols, 8°. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1933.

MURDOCH, WILLIAM
Brahms. With an analytical study of the pianoforte works. xii, 17-394 p, 8°. London: Rich & Cowan, 1933.

MUSIC AND COMMUNITY; the Cambridgeshire report on the teaching of music. 259 p. London: Cambridge University Press.

PARKER, D. C.
Georges Bizet. Popular ed. vi, 278 p. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1933.

PIERCE, ANNE E. and ROBERT S. HILPERT
Instruction in music and art. (U. S. Office of Education. Bulletin, 1932, no. 17.) vii, 68 p, 8°. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1933.

PISTON, WALTER
Principles of harmonic analysis. vii, 89 p, 4°. Boston: E. C. Schirmer Music Co., 1933.

PROPERT, W. A.
The Russian ballet. With a pref. by Jacques Emile Blanche. xvii, 103 p, 4°. New York: Greenberg. [American ed.]

PRICE, FRANK PERCIVAL
The carillon. Pref. by Herbert Austin Fricker. x, 228 p, 8°. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

PRYCE-JONES, ALLAN
Beethoven. 140 p. London: G. Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1933.

PULVER, JEFFREY
Johannes Brahms. Popular ed. xiv, 377 p. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1933.

ROBERTS, HELEN H.
Form in primitive music; an analytical and comparative study of the melodic form of some ancient southern California Indian songs. x, 180 p, 8°. New York: American Library of Musicology, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1933.

SEASHORE, CARL E.
Approaches to the science of music and speech. (Series on aims and progress of research. No. 41.) 15 p, 8°. Iowa City, Ia.: The University of Iowa, 1933.

STARKIE, WALTER
Raggle-Taggle; adventures with a fiddle in Hungary and Roumania. 399 p. London: J. Murray, 1933.

STEWART, REID
How to pass music examinations. 156 p. London: I. Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1933.

TAYLOR, STAINTON DE B.
Thomas Tomkins; a short account of his life and works. 16 p. London: The Author.

TERRY, C. S.
Bach: The mass in B minor. (The musical pilgrim.) New ed. 8 p, 16°. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.

TURNER, W. J.
Facing the music; the reflections of a music critic. 271 p. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd.

VALLAS, LÉON
Claude Debussy; his life and works. Tr. by Maire and Grace O'Brien. 275 p. London: Oxford University Press.

WEHRLE, WILLIAM O.
The marcaronic hymn tradition in medieval English literature. (Diss., Catholic University of America.) xxxvii, 186 p, 8°. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1933.

WHITLEY, W. T.
Congregational hymn-singing in England. With an additional chapter by Eric H. Thiman. 242 p. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.

WILLIAMS, W. S. GWYNN
Welsh national music and dance. 165 p. London: J. Curwen & Sons, Ltd.

YOUNG, KARL
The drama of the medieval church. 2 vols, 8°. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933.

* * *

BACH-JAHRBUCH. Jg. 29, 1932. Im Auftrage d. Neuen Bachgesellschaft hrsg. v. Arnold Schering. 165 p, 8°. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1933.

BALASSA, OTTILIE VON
Die Brahmsfreudin Ottilie Ebner und ihr Kreis. 151 p, gr. 8°. Wien: Bondy, 1933.

BERTRAN DE BORN
Die Lieder Bertrans von Born. Neu hrsg. v. Carl Appel. viii, 146 p, 12°. Halle: Niemeyer, 1932.

BLUME, WALTER
Brahms in der Meininger Tradition; seine Sinfonien und Haydn-Variationen in der Bezeichnung von Fritz Steinbach. 89 p, 4°. Stuttgart: W. Blume, 1933.

BRAHMS WERKVERZEICHNIS; VERZEICHNIS SÄMTLICHER WERKE VON JOHANNES BRAHMS. Ausg. d. Gesellschaft d. Musikfreunde in Wien. 50 p, 16°. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1933.

BUDRY, PAUL
Die Schweiz die singt; illustrierte Geschichte des Volksliedes, des Chorgesanges und der Festspiele in der Schweiz. 235 p, 4°. Erlenbach bei Zürich: E. Rentsch.

EHRMANN, ALFRED VON
Johannes Brahms; Weg, Werk und Welt. xii, 536 p, gr. 8°. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1933. [Ergänzungsbd.: Johannes Brahms; thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke. viii, 164 p, gr. 8°.]

FESTSCHRIFT FÜR DR. FELIX WEINGARTNER ZU SEINEM SIEBZIGSTEN GEBURTSTAG. Hrsg. v. d. Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Basel (unter d. Redaktion v. Wilhelm Merian, Henning Oppermann u. Otto Maag.) 167 p, 4°. Basel: Oppermann, 1933.

FINDEISEN, KURT ARNOLD
Lied des Schicksals; Roman um Johannes Brahms. 331 p, 12°. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1933.

FISCHER, W.
Der stollige Strophenbau im Minnesang. (Diss., Göttingen.) 87 p, 8°. Halle (S.): Klinz, 1932.

GRÖSSEL, HEINRICH
Georgius Otto, ein Motettenkomponist des 16. Jahrhunderts (1550–1618). (Diss., Leipzig.) 99 p, gr. 8°. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1933.

GRUNSKY, KARL
Der Kampf um deutsche Musik. 73 p, 8°. Stuttgart: E. Walther, 1933.

GURLITT, WILIBALD
Johannes Walter und die Musik der Reformationszeit. (S.-A. aus: Luther-Jahrbuch. Jg. 15, 1933.) 112 p, 8°. München: Kaiser, 1933.

HÄNDEL-JAHRBUCH. Jg. 5, 1932. Im Auftrag d. Händel-Gesellschaft hrsg. v. Rudolf Steglich. 128 p, 8°. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1933.

HAMEL, FRED
Die Psalmkompositionen Johann Rosenmüllers. (Diss., Giessen.) xvi, 126 p, 4°. Strassburg: Heitz & Co., 1933.

HANDBUCH DER DEUTSCHEN EVANGELISCHEN KIRCHENMUSIK. Nach d. Quellen hrsg. v. Konrad Ameln, Christhard Mahrenholz [etc.] Bd. 2. Das gesungene Bibelwort. Lfg. 2. 65-128 p, 4°. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1932.

DAS JAHR DES KIRCHENMUSIKERS. Jg. 5, 1933. Hrsg. v. Karl Vötterle. viii, 149 p, 8°. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1932.

JOHNER, DOMINICUS
Die Sonn- und Festtagslieder des vatikanischen Graduale nach Text und Melodie erklärt. 2., verb. u. verm. Aufl. xvi, 538 p, 8°. Regensburg: Pustet, 1933.

KAESTNER, E.
Das Opernproblem und seine Lösung bei Mozart. (Diss., Göttingen.) 88 p. Jena: Neuenhahn, 1932.

KALLENBACH, HANS
Georg Forsters Frische teutsche Liedlein. (Diss., Giessen.) 62 p, 8°. Giessen: O. Kindt, 1931.

KELDORFER, V.
Joseph Haydns "Hochgesang aller Deutschen"; eine Studie über die österreichische Volkshymne. 7 p. Wien: Wiener Schubertbund, 1932.

LENZ, HANS ULRICH
Der Berliner Musikdruck von seinen Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts. 116 p, 8°. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1933. (Diss., Rostock.)

MÜLLER-BLATTAU, J.
Georg Friedrich Händel. 160 p, 4°. Potsdam: Athenaion, 1933.

OBERLEITHNER, MAX VON
Meine Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner. Regensburg: Bosse.

RICHARD WAGNER ZUM GEDÄCHTNIS; REDEN BEI DER RICHARD-WAGNER-GEDÄCHTNISFEIR DER STADT LEIPZIG. 16 p, 4°. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1933.

WAGNER, R. W.
Der Umfang der Lautstärken in der Musik; Mitteilung aus dem Heinrich-Herz-Institut für Schwingforschung. (Aus: Sitzungsberichte d. Preussischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften.) 24 p. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1933.

* *
*

BERLIOZ, HECTOR
Souvenirs de voyages. Texte originale avec une préf. par J.-G. Prod'homme. 276 p, 8°. Paris: J. Tallandier, 1932.

BUGARD, PIERRE
Musique et pensée symbolique. Préf. de M. Robert Pitrou et de M. le docteur A. Hesnard. Bordeaux: Delmas.

CHALIAPINE, FÉDOR
Ma vie. Tr. par André Pierre. 2e mille. 385 p, 16°. Paris: A. Michel, 1932.

CHAO MEI PA
La cloche jaune; esquisse d'une histoire de la musique chinoise. Bruxelles: Comité Universitaire Sino-Belge.

CHOPIN, FRÉDÉRIC
Les lettres de Chopin. 1re éd. complète. (Tr. L. Danysz.) 600 p, 12°. Paris: E. Malfère.

COIRAULT, P.
Recherches sur notre ancienne chanson populaire traditionelle. Exposé 5. 365 p, 8°. Paris: E. Droz.

DU MOULIN ECKART, R.
Cosima Wagner; une vie, un caractère. Tr. par Maurice Rémon. 474 p, 8°. Paris: Stock.

DUPIRE, NOËL
Jean Molinet; la vie, les œuvres. 2 vols, 8°. Paris: E. Droz.

FRÉDÉRIC CHOPIN; EXPOSITION DE TABLEAUX, GRAVURES, MANUSCRITS, SOUVENIRS (1810–1849), ORGANISÉE PAR LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE POLONAISE SOUS LE PATRONAGE DU COMITÉ DES FÊTES DU CENTENAIRE DE L'ARRIVÉ EN FRANCE DE CHOPIN. Avant-propos de Charles M. Widor; introd. de François Pulaski. 97 p, 16°. Paris: Bibliothèque Polonaise, 1932.

GHÉON, HENRI
Promenades avec Mozart. Nouv. éd. 480 p. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer & Cie.

HAHN, REYNALDO
Notes; journal d'un musicien. Paris: Plon.

HERWEGH, MARCEL
Au soir des dieux; des derniers reflets wagnériens à la mort de Liszt (1847, 1883–1886). Paris: J. Peyronnet & Cie.

KUFFERATH, LUCY
La magie des sons; impressions d'art, 1908–1914. 79 p. Bruxelles: M. Weissenbruch, 1933.

LEHURAUX, LÉON
Chants et chansons de l'armée d'Afrique. Préf. du général Georges. 288 p, 8°. Alger: P. & G. Soubiron, 1933.

LISZT, FRANZ
Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult, 1833–1840. Publiée par M. Daniel Ollivier. 451 p, 8°. Paris: B. Grasset, 1933.

PETRESCO, J. D.
Les idiomèles et le canon de l'office de Noël; études de paleographie musicale byzantine. Préf. de M. A. Gastoué. viii, 86 p, xxxiii pl, 123 p, 4°. Paris: Geuthner, 1932.

PRINCET, MAURICE
Frédéric Chopin. Préf. de Paul Schultz. 79 p, 16°. Paris: "Reveil Economique," 1932.

REBOIS, HENRI
La renaissance de Bayreuth de Richard Wagner à son fils Siegfried. 72 p. Paris: Fischbacher.

ROKSETH, YVONNE
Grieg. 88 p, 60 pl, 8°. Paris: Rieder.

SÉNÉCHAL, CHRISTIAN
Romain Rolland. Paris: La Caravelle.

SHAW, BERNARD
Le parfait Wagnérien. Tr. de Auguste et Henriette Hamon. 192 p, 12°. Paris: Editions Montaigne.

* *
*

BAGATTI, BLANDA
Arpa e arpisti. 82 p. Piacenza: Soc. Tip. Edit. Porta, 1932.

BALILLA PRATELLA, F.
Appunti per lo studio della storia della musica. Vol 1. 98 p. Bologna: F. Bongiovanni, 1931.

BOSSI, E. and G. TEBALDINI
Storia dell'organo. Milano: A. & G. Carisch & C.

CAPRI, ANTONIO
Il seicento musicale in Europa. Milano: U. Hoepli.

FRAGAPANE, P.
Guido Guerrini. Firenze: Le Monnier.

RECUPITO, M. V.
Artisti e musicisti moderni. Milano: Casa Edit. La Scure.

ROLANDI, ULDERICO
Musica e musicisti in Malta. Livorno: R. Giusti.

SAINT-CYR, M.
Musicisti italiani contemporanei. Roma: Edit. De Santis.

TIBALDI CHIESA, MARY
Ernest Bloch. 107 p, 8°. Torino: G. B. Paravia & C., 1933.

* *
*

FORNS, JOSÉ
Historia de la música. Tomo 2do. Siglos XVI al XX. 471 p, 12°. Madrid: 1933.

MERCANTE, VICTOR
El paisaje musical. 117 p, 12°. Buenos Aires: Tall. Gráf. Ferrari, 1933.

SUBIRÁ, JOSÉ
La tonadilla escénica, sus obras y sus autores. 212 p, 8°. Barcelona: Editorial Labor.

* *
*

POZZOLI, E.
Guia theorico-pratico para o ensino do dictado musical. Tr. de S. Arcanja. Parte 3. 187 p, 8°. Milano: Ricordi, 1930.

* *
*

MOBERG, CARL ALLAN
Kyrkomusikens historia. xii, 580 p, 8°. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1932.

VRETBLAD, P.
Orgelregistren; uppslagsbok för organister, orgelbyggare och orgelns vänner. 76 p. Stockholm: Fritze, 1932.

* *
*

MAJOR, ERWIN
Brahms és a magyar zene; a "Magyar táncok" forrásai. 12 p, 8°. Budapest: Arany János Nyomeda, 1933.

* *
*

GLINSKI, MATEUSZ
Szopen; monografja zbiorowa. 94 p, 4°. Warszawa: Nakladem Miesiecznika "Muzyka," 1932.

* *
*

BELIAEV, V.
Muzykalnye instrumenty Uzbekistana. 130 p, 8°. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe Muzykalnoe Izdatelstvo, 1933.